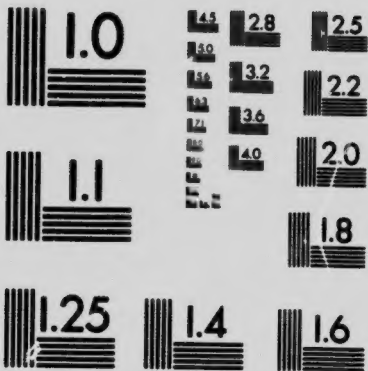




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THE Conservative Platform --- --- SPEECH

OF

Mr. J. P. Whitney, K.C., M.P.P.

Conservative Leader in the Ontario Legislature

DELIVERED TO THE

Members of the Liberal-Conservative Association
of Ontario

In Victoria Hall, Toronto, Sept. 3, 1901

ALSO

Portions of his Speech to the Electors of the
County of Peel, at Charleston,
Sept. 19, 1901

ALSO

The Speech at Charleston of

MR. JAMES J. FOY, K.C., M.P.P.

On the Public Issues of the Day

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Mr. Whitney at Toronto

A largely attended meeting of the Liberal-Conservative Association of Ontario was held in Toronto, Sept. 2nd and 3rd, 1901, and on the evening of the closing day of the meeting Mr. Whitney addressed the meeting in Victoria Hall on the public questions of the day. He said:—

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen—This being a gathering of picked men, so to speak, from all sections of the province, we may well confer together upon the political situation and endeavor to show to the people at large what our position is, and this is one that should be endorsed by the people. What I propose to do is to take up the history, very briefly, of the Liberal-Conservative party in relation to provincial politics, to bring it up to date as well as I can in my feeble way, and along with it the record and history of the Ontario Government in relation to ourselves as an Opposition. I propose to show the reasons why, in my opinion and in the opinion, I believe, of the majority of the people of this country, the position of the Liberal-Conservative party to-day is one, as contrasted with that of their opponents, which will conduce to the benefit of the people of the Province of Ontario, and which will be accepted by them as soon as they have an opportunity to signify their acceptance or refusal of it. (Applause.)

STATEMENT OF POLICY.

We hear a great deal about statements of policy. Our opponents, of course, claim that the Conservatives have no policy, utterly oblivious to the fact, well known to every adult person in the Province of Ontario, that whatever policy they have that has good in it has been filched from the provincial Conservative party. (Applause.) They are so very anxious to hear what our policy may be that they fall into the opposite extreme of contending we have none at all. But to-night, as I am speaking, and to-morrow, as the report of my speech is circulated, all over the province the supporters of the Government will be listening with mouths wide open to take up and treasure even the droppings of the Conservative policy.

I shall endeavor to bring up the record of the Conservative party to date, to define our position, and show why it should be endorsed by the people of the Province of Ontario. I say there is enough in the present policy of the Conservative party to justify the people in endorsing it, so much so that I am prepared to go to the people of the province and I tell now, the Government of Ontario, that we of the Opposition in the Legislature are ready for the issue of the writs to the people next week if they dare, and we invite the verdict of the people, and if we have no policy the people will not endorse us. (Applause.)

DATE OF THE ELECTIONS.

From time to time we are bound to listen to the addresses, public and private, of the Ministers, and their utterances on the subject of the election are to the effect that we will have no election until next June. I am prepared

to assume that they tell the truth, although there may be occasions on which that would be a rash assumption. (Laughter.) It is just as well, however, that we should deal with these questions from time to time. Before the elections take place, new questions or solutions of questions may be suggested, and it may fall to the province of the members of the Opposition in the Legislature—because they formulate the policy, and not Mr. Whitney—to say something more and discuss any new issues that may arise in the interval.

Owing, I believe, to the peculiar nature of our system of responsible government there must be two political parties. Public opinion veers from side to side with regard to great public questions from time to time, and so it is, as this pendulum of public opinion swings backward and forward from one side to the other, that the majority of the people rule. Those who are in power to-day may go out to-morrow, because public opinion condemns the policy of the party in power. That, I take it, is the beauty of our system of responsible government. In order that it should work out properly, and without friction, it is not only desirable but necessary that each party should propose or suggest something for the arbitrament of the people.

Our opponents—I am not speaking now in an unkindly spirit—since Confederation have been in the peculiar position of never having offered anything, either at Ottawa or Toronto, of importance to the people of Canada or the Province of Ontario. They attained power by means of accidents, and they have retained power—I refer now to the Province of Ontario—by various means, with most of which you are well acquainted; and they have finally wound up by selling from year to year the capital stock of the province—its timber resources—and when they found that even with that they were on the brink of the last ditch, they even added to that the unique act of breaking open the ballot boxes and stealing the franchises of Conservative voters. (Hear, hear.) Having become brave enough to go a little deeper they destroyed the evidences of their own iniquity by fire, and that is the situation at the present time. (Hear, hear.)

THE AGRICULTURAL POLICY.

I propose to take up as briefly as I can the questions that have been advocated and suggested by the Conservative party of this province, some of which have been adopted by the other party; then to deal briefly with some of the acts of the Government, for which they deserve condemnation, concluding with a statement of our position to-day and asking for the endorsement of the people of the Province of Ontario.

Take the question first of all of agriculture. You will understand that I must use as few words as possible to-night, and I shall endeavor to do so. On the great question of agriculture it was news to me to learn the other day that away back in the forties that great British-American Imperialist, Sir John A. Macdonald, introduced a motion in the Legislature for the establishment of agricultural schools in the old Province of Canada, and so, as on many other questions, we found the Grand Old Man to the front, even on this question, which was practically unheard of then. Then we find that Hon. John Carling, as a member of the combination Ministry of 1867, first crystallized into legislative and Government action the desires and views of the people of the province with regard to agriculture, and if he did not establish he was at any rate the originator of the agricultural farm and college. (Applause.) My good friend, Mr. Andrew Broder, who preceded me in the representation of Dundas in the Legislature, and now sits as the honored representative of that county in the House of Commons, was the first man to propose in the Legislature of Ontario the establishment of the travelling dairy, which was adopted by the Government and through which they gained more or less popularity in the province.

Then, in 1889, the first year after my election to the Legislature, when Mr. Drury was Minister of Agriculture, in the last hours of the session, in the midst

of great confusion, I took the opportunity of addressing the Legislature for a few minutes, pointing out that as there were a number of graduates of the Agricultural College, it would be a good thing to have them go to different centres of the province during February and March, when the farmers were least busy, and deliver lectures on agricultural subjects for a couple of weeks. In this way the people would receive the benefit of the work done by the college. Another feature of that line of policy I pointed out would be the leading up to the establishment of agricultural schools. In the report of my speech at that time I was quoted as follows:—

"Mr. Whitney is also of the opinion that in time a system of agricultural schools should be established in the province, thereby affording the opportunity of receiving instruction to men in each locality, and that the scheme which he has indicated may prove the way for the establishment of such schools."

That is the policy of the Conservative party, which will never rest satisfied till there is more than one, and more than four or five agricultural schools in the Province of Ontario. (Applause.)

And still they tell us we have no policy!

Then some people with more audacity than common sense will tell you that Mr. Whitney and other gentlemen in the Legislature of the Conservative persuasion voted against the creation of the Minister of Agriculture. That is a direct, deliberate, and absolute falsehood, known to be such by those who utter it. (Applause.)

THE SUGAR BEET INDUSTRY.

Then last winter, when the agitation for the establishment of the sugar beet industry was rife in this province, the Government brought in a bill—so far we have not seen many results from it—providing for the aid of such schemes. It occurred to my good friends Mr. Boyd, of North Grey, and Mr. Elliber, of Huron, to move an amendment, but the Government could not see the propriety of it and voted it down. The bill as passed does not provide for any direct bonus or encouragement to the farmer himself, and this amendment was to the following effect:—

"And this House while approving of the general provisions of the bill, regrets that it contains no provisions securing directly to the farmers producing sugar beets a reasonable bonus or bounty on each ton of beets produced and sold by them."

It is quite simple, and how you could find a majority of the Legislature voting down a reasonable proposition like that, one would think would almost pass ordinary comprehension.

Again, a year ago my good friend Mr. Little, a member of the Legislature, whom many of you know, put a resolution on the order paper to the effect that there should be in future a standing committee of the Legislature known as the Committee on Agriculture. There are a number of standing or permanent committees—municipal, law, public accounts, railways, and so on—and it occurred to him that in view of the all-absorbing interest which the people of this province are taking in the question of agriculture, and all that flows out of agriculture with benefit to the people—that in view of this it would be wise and proper to establish a standing committee on agriculture. All through the session of 1900 the Government dallied and trifled with Mr. Little's resolution, putting it off from week to week, and finally concluded by burking it in the closing days. But warned by experience, when Mr. Little reintroduced it last session, he took such measures as brought the Government to book. Apparently afraid of any further antagonism to the plain interests of the agriculturists of this province, they had to submit, and the journals of the House of last session will show that the resolution was allowed to pass and is now the law of the land. Still we have no policy! (Laughter and applause.)

THE LABOR INTEREST.

Then, with regard to the labor interest. Mr. Preston, the member for Brant, introduced a resolution providing, among other things, that men working for contractors in the employ of the contractors on railways, which should receive Government aid, should receive proper and sufficient rates of wages. The Opposition endorsed the proposition, but it desired to add to it. We said, we are in favor of this proposition that these laboring men shall receive proper and sufficient rates of remuneration, but we want to add something, and consequently I moved, seconded by Mr. Matheson, that the following words be added to the resolution:—"And that the opinion of this House in these respects be embodied in an Act of the Legislature." We wanted to pin that down at once, then and there. The proposition of the Government was a mere expression of opinion. We said, let us have the courage of our convictions now, and let us put an Act on the statute book which will carry them out. But no, the Government felt it to be their duty to vote it down, and one of the members of the Government said (he did not stand on his feet and say it), but he said, we are not going to allow you to pass anything like that.

That shows the moving spirit which actuated these people, and it shows, too, so far as I have gone at any rate, that the desire of the Opposition in the Legislature was to not only declare what was right, but also to crystallize it into an Act of the Legislature so that there should be no going behind it.

Then Mr. Crawford, of West Toronto, introduced what was practically the English law in regard to workmen's compensation for injuries, which received the greatest possible care at the hands of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and other great men of Great Britain before it was submitted to the House of Commons. When Mr. Crawford moved the bill, based upon that—and it was practically that adapted to our circumstances—there was a great outcry raised from the Government benches, and they would have none of it. So far, then, our record with regard to the labor question is one of which we need not be ashamed at any time. (Applause.)

And still they say we have no policy!

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

Then, with regard to the great and important question of manhood suffrage, which we have now. In 1885, the present Sir William Meredith, who was then the leader of the Opposition, moved this amendment to a bill:—

Mr. Meredith moved, seconded by Mr. Morris, on March 24, 1885:—

"That the following words be added to the motion, and while assenting to the second reading of the bill, and thereby to the principle that an extension to the franchise is necessary and expedient, this House desires to express its opinion, that no such extension which does not, under a proper system of registration, and while excluding the criminal and non-sane classes, aliens, and persons disqualified under the provisions of the Election Acts, confer the franchise upon every other male resident of the province of the full age of twenty-one years, ought to be adopted by this Province."

That amendment was voted down by the Government, and four years afterwards, in 1889, the very self-same amendment was adopted by the self-same Government and put upon the statute book, like man's other suggestions which emanated from the very same authority. (Applause.)

And still we have no policy!

Right here I desire to mention the matter of complaints in the public press on behalf of certain clergymen in the province who move from one place to another in the month of June in each year or thereabouts. This hardship has occurred, that having regard to the time the voters' lists are made out it very often happens that these clergymen are rendered ineligible to vote in the place they left, and also in the place they have gone to, and it was, and is, a grievance,

and it was ventilated in the public press. I think a resolution was passed by an assemblage of clergymen, and there were interviews with both the Premier and the Attorney-General with regard to it, and they both said it could not be remedied. Now, there is no wrong without a remedy under British law—(Hear, hear, and applause)—and I say it can be remedied, and I say it will be remedied in spite of the Government of the Province of Ontario, and their declarations to the contrary.

PUNISHMENT OF BRIBERS.

Now, then, I want to touch upon a question which I have often dilated upon, and, therefore, I have that feeling of hesitation which is felt by all modest men like myself, to repeat it, and it is with relation to certain bribery bills introduced by me. Now, I had some experience in this sort of thing; I was defeated the first time I ran, unseated my opponent, and within twelve months was re-elected, and you and I have seen within the last two years very large and florid statements by members of the Government to the effect that they were the first persons who ever prosecuted anybody for bribery. There were three or four persons prosecuted by me, and each fined \$200, one-half of which went in the coffers of the Government of the Province of Ontario. That was in 1888. In 1889 I introduced a bill in which it was provided that bribery should be punished by imprisonment, as well as by fine. I had had correspondence with the late Mr. Gladstone on the question, and with the then Attorney-General of England, now the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Richard Webster, and with Sir William Harcourt, and they agreed that the working of the English law was complete. The English law is that if a man is found guilty of bribery he shall be fined £200 (\$1,000), and imprisoned for six months. Without pursuing it any further, I wanted the bribers to be punished with imprisonment, whereas there was no punishment of imprisonment on the statute books of the province, but it was voted down. One member on the Government side voted with me, but next year voted against my bill. One distinguished member of the Government said as one of the reasons why he voted against it that it would not do to trust the liberty of the subject to two judges instead of juries, and he would vote against the bill, because these men were to be deprived of trial by jury. So he and his followers voted the bill down.

Next year I introduced the very same bill with this change, that I put in it the proviso that there should be trial by jury, and the very same Minister got up from the very same chair and stood in the very same tracks, and declared that his principal objection to this bill was that it contained a provision in favor of trial by jury. (Laughter and applause.) He said:—"These people will have sympathizers on the jury, and the juries will never convict them." And so the bill was voted down a second time. I brought it up the third time, but the Government then were about to condense and revise the election law, and the gentleman who is now the Premier of Ontario had charge of that bill, and he spoke to me privately in the corridor of the House, and asked me what it was I wanted to bring about by this bill of mine, and I told him. "Well," he said, "we are going to do something for you in the bill I am going to bring in." They did something so small that it is not worth speaking about, but I do not wish to conceal the fact that he did propose to follow my lead in this regard, even to the small extent he did. But in 1899 I introduced a bill which went a little further, and that bill, they say—it is possible there was some misunderstanding—they say I did not wish to push. At any rate, during the last hours of the session—an opportunity of bringing it up before was prevented by the action of the gentlemen on the Government benches—I was practically jockeyed out of the opportunity to move it. But of course it would have been voted down all the same.

Now, after all the West Elgin and North Waterloo disclosures, and after the other hideous pictures which have been held up to the gaze of the civilized

and Christian world for the last two years, it was felt the Government might do something with regard to revising the election law, and I introduced a bill which I had prepared with a great deal of care, and a day or so afterwards the Attorney-General of Ontario, who should have done it earlier, introduced a bill, and the bill was a sheet of blank paper without one word written or printed on it, and when, under the rules of the House, the time came for moving the second reading of my bill, the second reading being the decisive stage, after which no bill is ever heard of unless it is passed, they endeavored to prevent me from moving the second reading of my bill. They urged me for 15 or 20 minutes to let it go back, and the Attorney-General's bill and my bill would be considered together. The Attorney-General was going to introduce a bill, they said—and, by the way, I think the bill had not been introduced up to that time. I refused to do it unless the pledge was given me that I would have an opportunity to move the second reading of my bill before the other one. An opportunity was given me, and the two bills were considered together, and, as always occurs when the Government have a majority, Mr. Gibson's bill was carried with some modifications, and Mr. Gibson's bill, in all respects of importance, was an exact copy of my bill. (Applause.) I should not, perhaps, have said it was an exact copy, but the main provisions of my bill were all there, with just enough few unimportant changes to keep it from being recognized as one which had Mr. Whitney's name on the back. And they still say we have no policy of any kind!

Before I leave this question I want to read to you, with your permission, what somebody else says with regard to this question of my attitude towards bribery. I read from the *Farmers' Sun*:—

"Mr. Whitney has done his share toward strengthening the law against electoral corruption, and it is to be regretted that the Government stood in the way of the more stringent legislation he desired to have placed on the statute book. Measures for the suppression of electoral corruption are important, but we hope that Mr. Whitney will not confine his reforming energies to them."

THE TIMBER QUESTION.

Now, the great timber question is one that would require the whole of this evening to treat it properly, but I shall endeavor to deal with it as briefly as possible, and at the same time bring out the salient points in relation to it. The policy of Ontario Conservatives has always been twofold with regard to timber: one was to take care of it and conserve it—if you choose to use that word; the other was to investigate all about it, find out what we had; see what measures were necessary to conserve it, and see how it could be disposed of to the best advantage—to see how it could be held and used and conserved into bringing out the greatest results to the people of the Province of Ontario. (Hear, hear.) That has always been our attitude, as I shall prove to you in a very few minutes. In 1886 Mr. Meredith, then the leader used this language:—

"Vast areas of the timber lands of the province are placed under license without the assent of the Assembly. No attempt has been made to prevent by proper conditions the logs cut on our timber lands from being exported instead of being manufactured in this country and practically nothing has been done looking to the development of our mineral wealth or the husbanding of our timber resources."

In 1887 Mr. Meredith demanded that a provision be inserted in the timber leases requiring all logs taken from Crown lands to be sawn or manufactured here. The proposition was resisted. "The Government," said Mr. Ross, who is now Premier, "was prepared to sell timber to the highest bidder. It was not prepared to impose such conditions of sale as would debar American millionaires from paying high prices for Canadian limits." "The question," said Mr. Hardy, "has been considered by the Government, and they have decided to let the Dominion Government take the responsibility of the foreign

policy." A campaign pamphlet, issued by the Ministry, in 1894, declared that to interfere with the Michigan lumbermen, "would bring about a disastrous crisis, which would affect not Ontario alone, but the entire Dominion." As late as 1897 the Government pleaded for the Michigan interests. It declared through Mr. Gibson that it had sold the limits without any restriction as to the manufacturing of lumber or the exporting of logs, and that to impose restrictions afterwards would be a breach of faith.

In 1888 Mr. Meredith made a motion for a "select committee to enquire into the extent and nature of the timber and mineral resources of the provinces and the best means within the control of the Legislature for the conservation of the former and the development of the latter, with power to send for persons, papers, and records."

Now, the object of that was this, that the people of Ontario might be told after the examination and surveys were made, what were the extent of the areas and value of our timber and mineral resources, so that they would not only be able to form an opinion as to what should be best done with them, but that they would be able to judge intelligently of the action of their representatives in Parliament with regard to these two great questions. (Hear, hear.) The Government—I well remember it—the Government refused the motion with regard to timber, but accepted it with regard to minerals, and in consequence of that motion a commission was appointed which did investigate into the mineral resources of this province, which you all recollect.

And still we have never had any policy! Why, every step they have taken, every act they have done with relation to any of these great public resources can be traced back to its initiation in the Conservative party. On the 18th May, 1893, Mr. Mincampbell moved this motion:—

"That this House disapproves of the policy of disposing of the timber reserves of the province without its approval being first obtained, and is of the opinion that the right to cut timber upon the present reserves should be sold under such conditions as will insure the manufacture of the timber cut thereupon within the province, and more effectually guard against the unnecessary cutting and destruction of the small timber growing on such reserves."

The motion was voted down. Then, in 1894, the same gentleman moved again that in many parts of the country the saw milling industries had been transferred to Michigan and other States, and that the policy of the Government ought to be changed with a view to preventing this loss to our own province. That was voted down also. But in one sale the Government imposed a condition that the logs sold should be manufactured in Canada or Ontario—I forget which. What was the effect? All the timber limits to which this applied, except two or three, were situate north of the height of land, and unless you took the sawlogs to Michigan in a balloon they never could go there. (Hear, hear.) So that there was no danger. (Applause.) There were no speculators to get annoyed at all; it was all lovely, and the Government members nudged each other in the ribs and said, "What smart fellows we are." There were a couple of limits sold at that time which were south of the height of land, and if my recollection serves me right, the condition was withdrawn with regard to them a short time afterwards. That has been, as I have shown you, from time to time, our policy all along, without one word being said up to the time I have mentioned in favor of the opposition policy on the other side, and I challenge the production of any such word.

In October, 1897, I gave an interview to a newspaper in Ottawa, which was published in *The Mail and Empire* of the next day also, in which I said several things, and for fear I shall be accused of leaving something out I had better read it all:—

Mail, October 6th, 1897.

"It is difficult to understand," continued Mr. Whitney, "the motives which influenced the Government in dealing with the question. Three years ago the

Conservative Opposition supported a motion introduced by Mr. Miscampbell to the effect that a clause should be inserted in all licenses issued by the Ontario Government, requiring that all logs cut under such licenses should be sawn in Ontario. The motion was voted down by the Government. During the past summer, following a practice often indulged in by them, they adopted the policy suggested by us, but heretofore opposed by them, and made it a condition of the sales of timber limits made months ago, that logs cut under those licenses should be sawn in Canada."

"Does this regulation apply to new licenses only?"

"Yes, only to those issued last summer."

"Are the old licenses affected in any way by these new regulations?"

"I believe not. The Government seems to lack the courage to deal with the question broadly, and on its merits. There is no doubt in my mind that public opinion in the province is practically a unit in favor of the Government using all the powers given it by law to compel the sawing of logs in Ontario, and would justify them in so doing. What the Government will do is very doubtful. One thing is quite certain, and that is that some of the lumbermen, American and others, who have been in the habit of exporting logs to the United States, are making preparations to get out during the coming winter a larger quantity of logs than ever before. This is suggestive of the course which, in the opinion of these gentlemen, the Government is likely to pursue."

I think there is not much doubt in the minds of any gentleman who has heard me as to what the attitude of the Conservatives in the Legislature has been all along on this great saw log question. Then, on the 30th November, 1897, the House was called together at an unusual date because the elections were to be held next year—some people say the Government got alarmed at the state of public opinion after a number of my colleagues and myself had gone about the country and explained the true inwardness of all these matters to the people. (Hear, hear, and applause.) However that may be, on the reply to the address Mr. Miscampbell moved in amendment thus:—

"We join in the regret expressed by your Honor with reference to the increased duty imposed by the Government of the United States on pine and other lumber imported into the country, and also regret that the Government of the province has not taken steps to compel the manufacture in Canada of all sawlogs cut under licenses issued by the Crown Lands Department."

And that was voted down like all the others.

What do you think? Now, Hon. E. J. Davis, who is a good citizen, a very respectable man, and a man who has been a little spoiled by his colleagues, declared at a meeting in Orillia, according to the reports in the newspapers, that neither Mr. Whitney nor the Conservatives had ever put themselves on record with regard to the sawlog policy! (Laughter.) Now, when a good man like Mr. Davis would not hesitate to speak in that reckless way what can you expect of men who are not as good as Mr. Davis? (Laughter.) Very well, then, Mr. Hardy and Mr. Gibson both said that the amendment of Mr. Miscampbell, if carried, would be unjust, unfair, and illegal, and that the limits had been sold without restriction.

I cannot now go into the question of the timber licenses or I could show you that it is no surprise to the man who holds a timber license to have any new conditions put into it, because it is provided that it is subject to any changes and restrictions which may be imposed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council from time to time. Now, then, we have the attitude of the Government at that date, but about two weeks afterwards the Government introduced a bill which was passed and is now on the statute book, practically enacting exactly the position of the Opposition in the Legislature, and making it compellable on the part of these timber license-holders to saw the logs in Ontario. (Applause.) The difference, and on this sometimes these gentlemen try to make a point, the difference between the bill as introduced and the proposition of Mr.

Miscampbell was this: We proposed to have the condition put in right at once; the proposition of the Government as passed into law was that the condition should be imposed in all new timber limits sales that occurred afterwards, and in all the old ones at the expiration of the then current license year. That gave the American lumbermen all that winter to go on and to clean up all the logs they could and take them away, because at the end of the year when the license was renewed this new provision was to be put in. Now, you can understand why they made preparations to take away an unheard of quantity of logs, and, as I say, it was practically adopting our policy in that respect.

Mr. Gibson, with that frankness which sometimes is characteristic of him, actually declared in his speech that the Government had decided on that policy weeks before the House met. (Laughter.) After I had declared myself publicly they declared themselves to each other secretly, so he said, and when Mr. Miscampbell, my colleague, attempted to put the policy in force they voted it down, and said to adopt it would be unjust, unfair, and illegal, and two weeks afterwards they adopted what was practically the policy itself! (Applause.)

SOMETHING YET TO COME.

There is something else I might tell you but I won't to-night; I have not time to do it, and, beside, I want to let it hang fire a little; I shall be prepared before long, in fact I am prepared now, but I propose before long to tell you what return the American lumbermen made for this conduct on the part of the Government. (Hear, hear.)

Now, then, at the risk of tiring you, I am going to read this article taken from the Saginaw Courier-Herald. Saginaw is in Michigan, and is one of the headquarters of the American lumber industry. This is an organ well acquainted with all interests of the sawlog men, and this is the conclusion of the American men as to this great question. This is a paper well acquainted with all the interests of the sawmill men. I was going to say their "organ," but that would probably not be true.

The Saginaw Courier-Herald remarks:—"As far back as the early eighties William Ralph Meredith, leader of the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature, and now Chief Justice of the province, laid down as a matter of public policy that all logs cut in Canada should also be manufactured there. Meredith led the Conservatives in Ontario, and in assuming this policy he was but following in the lead of Sir John A. Macdonald, chief of the party in the country, who established the National Policy of Protection in Canada. Mr. Meredith's idea grew in popularity, and was taken up by the people and press irrespective of party. In the meantime, he continued to press the policy upon the attention of the Ontario Government, a course in which he was followed by those who succeeded him in the leadership, after he took office as Chief Justice."

"The Ontario Government at first opposed, then opposition grew silent and finally, seeing the bent of public opinion and fearing defeat on the issue, the policy was stolen bodily from the Opposition. It was made part of the Government programme as though it had originally belonged there, and it was embodied in an Act passed by the Ontario Legislature, in which it is made compulsory that all logs cut in that province must be manufactured there also. The policy grew as a direct result of the pressure of public opinion in Ontario, and quite irrespective of any legislation passed across the border. It would have become the law of Ontario just the same, no matter what was done here, for the people forced it upon the Government."

That is what a dispassionate observer, who has the interests of the saw-millers of the United States at heart contributes, as a matter of history, to this question. That has been our policy in the past with regard to this great question, this valuable asset of ours, an asset which has been frittered away during the past years to a greater extent than the people of Ontario dreamed

of, and which, if not carefully husbanded in the future, will leave in a few years nothing to be said about it by the people of Ontario but to dwell upon the recollection of the immense asset of provincial wealth which belonged to the people of this province, and which was dissipated and frittered away by men who had not the interests of the province at heart. (Loud and continued applause)

AS TO PULPWOOD CONCESSIONS.

Then, there is the other great Provincial asset, the pulpwood. One can hardly estimate the amount and value of the pulpwood of this province. And why cannot you estimate it? Because you cannot get any information about it, because the motion of Mr. Meredith was thrown aside, and we have never had any investigation or survey from which to form an opinion or arrive at a conclusion about it. We had surveyors a year ago sent out, and while I have no personal knowledge on the question, those who know more about lumber than Mr. E. J. Davis, for instance, tell me that the number of square miles handed over to each party of ten men to survey was ten times the quantity that that number of men could survey—(applause)—and consequently we are to-day practically in the dark as to the amount and value of this wonderful asset known as our pulpwood.

Well, there have been a number of pulpwood concessions, about which there has been a great deal of talk. Several years ago a couple of concessions were granted by the Legislature, and the Legislature granted them practically blindfold; it was an absolute impossibility to know whether the terms and conditions of these concessions were reasonable or unreasonable, but the Legislature thought, and I thought, not unreasonably, that it would be well to give these men at first something in the nature of a free hand in order that we might be able to see and the people learn what the amount and value of this asset of ours was, so that we would be able to deal with it in an intelligible way afterwards, and two or three of these concessions were granted.

There are two things strange about these agreements; the first thing is that it would take a pretty good lawyer more than one day to read and construe them properly, and they are utterly unintelligible to the lay reader. One of the first things that strikes one is this, that in several of these concessions it is laid down that the person receiving the concession may delimit or measure off forty or fifty or sixty square miles—they vary. Take one at fifty; he may delimit 50 square miles, and as you read this section your opinion will be that he gets 50 square miles and no more, but strange to say, a little further on you will find that he shall be obliged—he is to erect a mill, and so on—he shall be obliged each year to cut off the 50 square miles one twenty-first part of all his yearly cut for that year, and the other twenty twenty-first parts of his yearly cut he can get elsewhere, so that instead of getting 50 or 60 square miles he gets between 1,200 and 2,500 square miles, and there is nobody knows really yet, because the question has never been discussed in court, how much these concessions do cover! Now, then, we protested against that, and in the case of one, the Spanish River concession, we proposed an amendment, which I will read to you:

"This House is of opinion that all grants of pulpwood lands should be made subject to public competition, and that all dues on Crown timber should be regulated from time to time by this House; and this House is also of opinion that steps should be taken to enquire into the extent and nature of the timber resources of the province, in order that the members of this House may be able to form an intelligent judgment upon the subject of timber and pulpwood dues."

Timber limits are sold subject to public competition, and why should not the pulpwood limits be sold subject to competition? That was voted down. Was there anything wrong in it? Will you find anyone who in private conversation will tell you there was anything in that proposition that was wrong?

Not even Hon. E. J. Davis, that very good man! (Laughter.) There is another reason why we objected to continuing this policy. It was this: it was perfectly impossible, admittedly impossible, for the members of the Legislature to know what they were granting away, and that of itself is always a reason why public servants and trustees should not deal hastily with the property of those whom they represent. Then in the following year a concession, called the Keewatin Concession, was brought up. Mr. Matheson moved, seconded by Mr. Foy:—

"This House is of opinion that all grants of pulpwood lands should be made subject to public competition, and that all dues on Crown timber should be regulated, from time to time, by this House."

That is our position. It is a reasonable position, it needs no argument, and therefore I have no right to take up your time in discussing it further. (Applause.) But let me read to you a short extract from the report of that admirable man, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. He says in the report issued by the Government:—

"What is wanted in Canada is the manufacturer, not the speculator, and the Governments of the different provinces should protect genuine investors. Let us have authentic reports on the water-powers and timber limits. To get these will cost money, but it seems only common sense that a Government should know what it is selling or giving away in a concession. Such expenditure could form part of the price asked."

If I had read Lord Strathcona's remarks and said nothing myself I would have dealt fully with this question. Then, after 15 years of steady work on the part of the Opposition and steady assertion of this position with regard to these two great assets, you see the position which we occupy to-day, and I may say—now, I cannot prove this, but I will tell you this, that when we agreed to increase the pulpwood dues from 20 cents a cord to 40 cents and had our amendment drawn, and it would have been moved in the afternoon, Mr. Davis before mentioned, with a jeering smile on his face, moved on the part of the Government just what our amendment was. They had got hold of what we were going to do, and they ran like hunted hares till they took up the same position. (Loud applause.)

Then, with regard to minerals. I cannot deal with this great question tonight at any length, but the Government of the day among other things took it upon themselves to impose certain very onerous duties on the owners by Order-in-Council. Now who is to govern the province if not the people of it? Shall it to be the people or Mr. Davis and his colleagues up in the Park? Are these people to hold over the heads of these earnest, hard-working mineral men this punishment which will be visited upon them the moment they refuse to vote for James Conmee or any other supporter of this Government? We say that this Government by Order-in-Council is not only foreign to the spirit of British Government but foreign to the spirit of fair play everywhere and it is one of the first things that will be dealt with by the Conservative party when they have the power. (Loud applause.) The true policy with regard to some of our great minerals, especially nickel, is to encourage development in every way, by the advice of capable men, so that the whole work of refining may be as soon as possible done in the Province of Ontario. That is our position in regard to it.

NEW ONTARIO.

Now let us come to New Ontario. What a racket they would make about New Ontario! We are charged with opposing New Ontario, with objecting to the development of New Ontario, just as if any possible political party would object to anything which would redound to the advantage of the people whom they represented, and were desirous of representing. Now, let them put their finger on any act or deed which shows that we have objected to the development

of New Ontario! Was the motion of Mr. Meredith in 1886 to investigate and survey, and find out what our interests and assets were in the way of timber and mineral in New Ontario a step against the interests of New Ontario or the development of it? (Applause.) Was my amendment to the Spanish River concession, which I read a little while ago, practically in the same words expressing the same desire and the same idea, to be construed as being opposed to the development of New Ontario?

Let us see what the other side of the shield will show. Now, what was the first movement ever made towards the opening up and settlement of New Ontario? Was it not made by the Conservative Government at Ottawa by means of the Canadian Pacific Railway? (Hear, hear.) Did not it provide for the construction of that railway from Lake Nipissing straight through the country to Fort William? (Hear, hear.) Mr. Ross was opposed to that project, you all know that, and speaking in Parliament he used this language on the 10th January, 1881:—

"You will notice that by the terms of this contract we are going to build the eastern end, 600 miles, inside of ten years. We certainly are not building the Lake Superior end of the road, what is called the eastern section, for the purpose of colonization. We have no evidence that the land is of great value; we knew that the climate is unfavorable; we know the soil is somewhat barren. True, there may be some valuable timber in the country, but we do not require to build a railway into it for the sake of the timber. We have an abundance of timber on existing lines of railway, so that the immediate construction of the eastern end of this route is unnecessary. The section from Nipissing to Fort William will involve an expenditure of \$20,000,000, though it has been variously estimated from \$18,000,000 to \$22,000,000. I see no necessity for the construction of so many miles of railway for the single purpose of opening up the North-West."

Mr. Ross says to-day the exact opposite to this. He opposed the opening up of New Ontario by the eastern end of the railway from Lake Nipissing at the general expense, because the land was of no great value, and the climate was unfavorable, and the land was somewhat barren! All these were good reasons if they were true reasons, but the Conservative party at that time did not believe they were true reasons, and consequently they went on with this development of New Ontario. (Cheers.) We hear a great deal about Mr. Clergue. Mr. Clergue is a man who deserves every possible praise for his attempts to develop New Ontario or Old Ontario—I don't care which—for the benefit of the capitalists whom he represents, and it is the duty as well as the interest of every sensible man in Ontario to see to it that Mr. Clergue is not improperly or unfairly or unreasonably treated in any event whatever. (Hear, hear.) I have objected to one act of the Government with regard to Mr. Clergue. I never objected to Mr. Clergue with regard to that, because Mr. Clergue would have deserved unfavorable criticism if he had not done what the Ontario Government were willing to let him do. Let us see what Mr. Clergue himself said about them, and it has never been contradicted:—

"Mr. Clergue said that when he first came to Canada he met with the difficulty that the Ministers in power had no great confidence in the country's resources, and he ventured the assertion that there was not a public man in either Government who possessed the knowledge relative to the resources of the northern part of Ontario which he had gathered."

(A voice: "That is correct.") That was the position Mr. Clergue occupied then. Whether he has changed it since I do not know, but I very strongly suspect he has not changed it. You have heard a great deal about the Algoma Central Railway and about Mr. Whitney, and the Opposition opposing it. Well they supported a similar grant last year to the Manitoulin & North Shore Railway. We would give the same votes over again on both questions.

and we believe the people of the province will endorse our action on both these questions. (Hear, hear.)

Time prevents me from dwelling at length on the Algoma Central Railway question, and read the clauses of the Act, but I will tell you the facts. The Algoma Central Railway runs from certain mines belonging to Mr. Clergue through a country which the preamble of the bill says is uninhabitable, down to Mr. Clergue's mills for the refining of his own iron ore. The Central Algoma Railway had nothing of the element of colonisation in it whatever. The Government gave that railway, in fee simple, the title, the minerals, and everything with the exception that they had to pay dues on the pulpwood—7,400 acres for every mile they built. Now, I say that some such great inducement was necessary to encourage an enterprise like that, but it was not a colonisation enterprise. When I show you what we objected to in the transaction I am perfectly certain you will all agree with me. The Government said, we are going to give this to Mr. Clergue, and they recited in the bill a great lot of things that Mr. Clergue was going to do for them in return for this concession, and there is where the deception came in. They provided on certain sections of land, which were to be given in alternate sections as soon as the Lieutenant-Governor should think reasonable, a school-house should be built, a public hall should be built, certain factories should be started at Sault Ste. Marie, and a great many other things should be done, together with the establishment of a line of four steamships. These and other provisions of a similar nature, each one of which was worth a great deal itself, were recited in the bill as being the consideration for which this Ontario Government gave this amount of property to Mr. Clergue, and it is all falsehood. I believe in calling things by their proper names, and it is falsehood, made, uttered, and printed and published with deliberation by the Ontario Government. (Hear, hear.)

I have here Mr. Clergue's speech made at the Board of Trade in this city 30 days before the bill was introduced, and in that speech Mr. Clergue says that he is doing or has done nearly all these things which the Government of Ontario a month later say he promises to do. He said the steamers referred to were then on the ocean. By the 17th section there is a provision that if the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council receives security which shall satisfy him—a mere promise may satisfy—they shall have power to waive the performance of the more important of those conditions which Mr. Clergue has not already done. We say the action of the Government was discreditable and disreputable. (Hear, hear.) Now, with regard to the Manitoulin & North Shore Railway, which was given 7,400 acres of land per mile, I voted for it, much to the intense astonishment of the Premier. He thought and hoped and prayed, no doubt, that the Opposition would make asses of themselves and object to this bill, but the Opposition did nothing of the kind. The Opposition, actuated by the desire to develop New Ontario, said, No, Manitoulin, with twelve, fourteen, or fifteen thousand people, has never had any railway communication, but the people have lived there by themselves and have suffered many inconveniences, and this railway will also go through the undiscovered and unexplored region around Sudbury, and, therefore, we said, "Give them a good liberal concession, and see that this project is carried out in the interests of the people," and we will do it again if we have an opportunity.

QUESTION OF EDUCATION.

Now, then, I will come to the question of education. I cannot deal with the High schools to-night. I must confine myself for the present to the Public school. As a matter of fact, 95 per cent. of our children go to the Public school, and never go anywhere else, and their education begins and ends in the Public school. That is enough to arrest the attention of any ordinary listener, and compel him to agree that nothing can be of more importance to be considered

by the people and their representatives than the management of the Public schools of this province.

Mr. Ross has declared that the Public school is a stepping-stone to the High school, and the High school a stepping-stone to the college, and the college a stepping-stone to the university, and here, he says, we have our educational chain complete. You see, Mr. Ross cannot consider any one of these institutions without regarding the whole chain and its polish, and the beauty and noiseless movement and the symmetry of the machine—of the chain I should have said—(Laughter)—which attracts Mr. Ross' attention, rather than the merits of each separate system or scheme. We say the gulf that separates Mr. Ross' position from ours is wide and deep; we say the Public school of this province in which the 96 per cent. of the pupils have to receive all their education should be a substantive institution by itself, self-centred so to speak, and should be governed with reference to two facts: first, that the large majority of the children who enter there can never go any further in the pursuit of education, and that the system or plan of education should have reference to the future lot in life of the pupils who do go there and who form and comprise 96 per cent. of the people of this Province of Ontario.

And we say now, without going into details, that to-day in the Province of Ontario the pupils in the Public schools are not afforded an opportunity to spend all their time in the acquirement of that education which would best fit them for their future lot in life, having regard to the fact that they can go no farther. I say, and I have said it on 150 platforms in Ontario and never been contradicted once, that there is not a pupil in the Public school who does not have to fritter away a certain amount of his time on subjects, an advantageous knowledge of which must be got in some higher institution than the Public school, while this poor child can never go there. (Applause.) As long as that assertion is true, so long the necessity remains for a radical revolution in our entire educational system. (Applause.)

I said something of this nature before the House here in Toronto as long ago as 1892, and I was jeered at and laughed at by Mr. Ross, the then Minister of Education, but luckily for me and the people the following year there was a convention of Public school teachers of this province, and they not only took the position which I had taken, but they even went further, and, consequently, Mr. Ross came down the next session with a little graver face, and he passed the amendment to the law bringing into existence what are known as continuation classes. But the continuation classes, for reasons which I can't dilate upon now, do not bring about the advantages which I wanted. In 1895 and 1896 I proposed amendments in the Legislature. The one in 1895 was this:—

"It is desirable that provincial expenditure for educational purposes should be so appropriated and apportioned as to provide equitably, as far as may be, for the requirements of the whole people; that the interests of higher education are well served by the High schools, Collegiate institutes, Colleges and Universities; that the public mind with the working and results of the educational system of the great mass of the people, through the medium of the Public schools, are not in of the Public schools may be remodeled and where necessary widened and expenditure, having regard to the relative merits of primary and higher education and particularly to the fact that ninety-five per cent. of the children of the province receive all their education in the Public schools, and that in the opinion of this House a scheme should be devised by which the sphere of the Public school may be widened and enlarged so as to afford to the children of the agricultural population further and increased opportunities of obtaining such higher education in the Public schools as may be practicable there."

That was the first motion made by me, and the next one was made, and was voted down, of course—I need not tell you that. (Laughter.) In 1898, on the 14th January, the Government educational policy being the subject of debate, I made the following motion:—

"This House observes with anxiety the evidences of dissatisfaction in the public mind with the working and results of the educational system of the province, and is of opinion that a scheme should be devised by which the sphere of the Public schools may be remodeled and where necessary widened and enlarged with the view of affording to those pupils whose education begins and ends in such schools such further and increased educational advantages as may be practicable. This House is also of opinion that among other desirable changes there should be created a consultative or Advisory Council, for the assistance of the Minister of Education, on which council should be represented all the teaching bodies in the province. And this House is also of opinion that steps should be taken to reduce the price of school books, and thus lessen materially the burden now imposed upon and borne by the people of the province, by reason of the large sums they are compelled to pay for such books."

In those two years those motions were made by me. Of course they were voted down, and Mr. Ross once, and the Globe once, perhaps through want of proper information, endeavored to suggest that my idea was not a consultative body chosen by teachers, but a body to be appointed. Such an idea never entered my head.

THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL.

"With regard to our attitude in relation to this, I find that in Port Perry Mr. Ross gave the information—it was information to me, my friends; very pleasant to hear, indeed—Mr. Ross abandoned the jeering attitude with regard to my proposition of a consultative council, and he declared there that this idea of mine had been advocated during the past year—that is three or four years after I originated it—by the Educational Council in England, and that it had been publicly advocated by two members of no less repute than the Duke of Devonshire and the Archbishop of Canterbury. And what do you think he proposed? He said:—"I would be willing to accept Mr. Whitney's idea, and let him appoint half of the council, and I would appoint the other half." Now what a council that would be? (Laughter.) How much the public interests of the people would be considered by that council; it would be what Mr. Ross thought or what Mr. Whitney wanted that would be considered at all, would it? But my proposition was that the Public school teachers, Separate school teachers, High school teachers, professors in colleges and universities should, each class of them, elect or choose certain representatives, to form this consultative body, whose advice would be at the disposal of the Minister at all times. And it is coming to that. (Hear, hear.) In order to prove that my ideas and the ideas of those who agreed with me in this matter, both in the Legislature and out of it, with regard to the present condition of education are not exaggerated, let me read you a few words of that great man, Sir Daniel Wilson, the principal of the university, in his convocation address as long ago as 1883, on the uniformity of the Public school system of Ontario examinations, that festering spot on the educational system of the Province of Ontario. Now, Sir Daniel Wilson said:—

"In truth, professors and students are alike in danger, under the modern system of elaborate programmes, of recognizing the examiners' report and the place in the class lists as the supreme aim and final goal of an academic career. The educational system which drifts into such courses is on the highway to become a mere machine, regulated by the clockwork of some central board to whom a grand paper programme is the primary essential. It leaves no room for the men on whom the reputations of universities have ever most largely depended; and no time for the wider range of spontaneous and suggestive illustration, best calculated to stimulate the enthusiasm of the gifted student. The more latitude a thoroughly qualified teacher enjoys the greater will be his success in all but routine work. His method may fall short of the departmental standard, but it is his own and the one by which he will produce the most successful results."

And they are golden words in my humble opinion. Now, then, let me read to you a few words by Principal Grant, of Queen's University, and you will see in what good company the Conservative Opposition in the Legislature are.

"Addressing the Carleton County Teachers' Association, Principal Grant, of Queen's University, dealt a hard blow at the Ontario Public school system. He stated that Ontario had passed from a state of disorganization to a worse state of organization, in the blind belief that all that was needed was more organization. In the old stage all depended on the pupil's own independence. Now a teacher could only reach him through a class and study organization, which was not effective. He also deplored the fact that the pupil's early efforts were devoted so much to written examinations, thus cramping the mind and destroying the vitality. No two minds were alike, yet, according to the Ontario system, all were passed through the one groove of study. According to modern ideas the study of abstracts was given the preference over the realities, whereas but one mind in a hundred was capable of dealing with the abstract."

I wish also to read a few words from Professor Goldwin Smith. Mr. Ross objects to my idea of the consultative body because it interfered with the responsibility of the Ministers. My proposition was made perfectly clear that the Ministers should not be obliged to take the advice and therefore it would not interfere with the responsibility. Professor Goldwin Smith says:—

"Next to the timber bill, the most important thing in the session of the Ontario Legislature was Mr. Whitney's pronouncement in favor of a reform in the Department of Education. To his proposal of an Advisory Council of experts for the assistance of the Minister, Mr. Ross is reported as having replied that it would be impossible for a Parliamentary Minister to act with an Advisory Council. Why so? In England both the Parliamentary Minister for India and the Parliamentary First Lord of the Admiralty act with advisory councils of experts, and no difficulty has been found in either case. The title of the Minister of Education himself is Vice-President of the Committee of Privy Council of Education, the Privy Council being a non-Parliamentary body; and he has also experts to assist him. It is to be hoped that Mr. Whitney, having put his hand to this plow, will not turn back. If he goes forward he will carry with him the best wishes of all the true friends of education."

And he will not turn back. (Loud cheers.) In 1897, just before the general elections, Mr. Ross was excited over the attitude of the people with regard to the price of school books, and Mr. Ross has expended a large amount of printing ink and paper in his organs throughout the province in order to prove that you people have paid just so many dollars and cents, I think he brings it to \$4.98 that you spend for all the school books that are necessary up to a certain course. Well, it never occurs to Mr. Ross, apparently, that you people who buy books know what you pay, and he tells you plainly, practically tells you this is what you pay; you don't know what you pay—I know what you pay, I tell you, and you ought to be thankful for the information. He issued a commission secretly without the knowledge of the public, without the knowledge of the press, without the knowledge of the members of the Legislature, empowering certain very estimable gentlemen to enquire into the price and cost of school books and report on that. And on the last day of the Legislature of 1898 the report of these gentlemen was put upon the desk of the members. These commissioners met in secret, and there was a list of witnesses given to them, 20 or 22 of them, two of them were experts of the department, who gave technical evidence, and the other 18 or 20, I forgot which it was—I have the names here, and the report here—every one of these witnesses was either a papermaker, a book publisher, or bookseller—(Hear, hear)—and they gave evidence, and the commissioners reported that the cost of school books was not too high. What a strange thing for them to do! (Laughter.) And when the proper time comes

an exposure shall be made of the nature of some of the evidence that was given before that commission, evidence which I say here to-night was distinctly false and intended to show the commissioners that the cost of school books was lower than the actual cost was. (Applause.)

CHEAPER SCHOOLBOOKS.

In my opinion the cost of the school books can be materially lowered, and, if in no other way, that result can be attained by the publication of them, by the Government.

Well, Mr. Chairman, a year or so ago, or more, Mr. Ross began to see how the tide was turning in this province; he began to see that the people had made up their minds that they would have some change with regard to this school-book question, and that his situation as Minister of Education was becoming untenable, or at least, unpleasant. Mr. Ross ran away from the Department of Education, and therefore Mr. Harcourt assumed the burden.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

With regard to the University of Toronto, I say in no unpleasant tone, nor with any improper meaning, that Mr. Ross has been the evil genius of that institution. I say the effect of Mr. Ross' connections with, and his actions with regard to the University have been a distinct drawback and injury and damage to it for years back. And I could show that he has interfered with almost everything the faculty wished to do; he has endeavored to keep control as he had control of the Department of Education, when, as one of the officials told me, if a man tried to drive a nail in with a hammer he would be brought up before the Minister of Education to explain his conduct. He is determined to see that nothing is done that does not appear to him as an individual to be just and proper to be done, and this has occurred with regard to the University of Toronto, and it has hampered it for years, until it has been brought into a condition of stagnation, out of which, with the help of the Opposition, it will be drawn before very long, I hope.

To prove what I say with regard to the attitude of the Government. Last winter while the university bill was under discussion, Mr. Harcourt, who is an amiable man, and not apt at all to use harsh language with regard to anybody, broke out into a most violent tirade against Principal London, and he did it by order, of course. He was told to do it. And I want to read to you some of the words which, according to the report of all the newspapers, Mr. Harcourt used with regard to Principal London:—"Mr. London" spoken without reason and without knowledge of our Public school system. He had utterly misconceived the effects of the system. He spoke with knowledge, as a man who had stood aloof from the Public schools of the province," etc.

As soon as I got my breath, I asked Mr. Harcourt not to dismiss Prof. London before the end of the year, but he got a little angry then, and he said it was not the intention to dismiss him at all. I said, if he is the man you describe him, he ought to be dismissed. But if you noticed, he did not attack Principal Grant, nor he did not attack Prof. Watson, of Queen's University, who came up here and made the most thorough exposure of the educational system of this province.

Now, the situation was getting intolerable, and at last it fell to the Opposition in the Legislature to take a stand upon this question. The Opposition did take a stand upon the question, and I made an announcement in the Legislature one night which I think I had better read to you, although I am afraid I may tire you. The reason I read it to you is this, as I will explain afterwards, the Globe newspaper did not publish this announcement of mine on the University question. These are the words I used:—

"With a true foundation thus laid, and the interests of those who cannot hope to go further than the Public school in the acquirement of education, and whose

interests should be our first care, duly safeguarded, we then come to the question of University education. Those who are watching the signs of the times must believe that we are approaching a period of great changes in educational methods. Just what form or shape these changes will take we cannot yet see, but the true lover of the educational interests of the province will not be afraid to take steps to be ready for changes that may come, nor be astute in discovering obstacles in the way of preparation. We must take a forward position on the University question, or else count to be left hopelessly in the rear, with the disastrous results, one of which will inevitably be that our young men will go elsewhere for higher education. It is too late now to discuss academically the question of the advisability of a State or Provincial University. It is a condition, not a theory, with which we have to deal. The Provincial University, which is at once a provincial asset, so to speak, and a public trust, has been dragging along for many years, doing noble work, considering the means at its disposal. Several other colleges have come in under the federation scheme, and the University has struggled on manfully under great difficulties. Year after year, those connected with it and best able to judge of its requirements, have pressed upon the Provincial Government its urgent needs, but practically a deaf ear has been turned to all their appeals. The situation has at last become acute, and, indeed, intolerable. We must either support or abandon the University. We have arrived at the parting of the ways, and we must decide whether we will forward or drop back."

"Being convinced that the people of the province are unwilling that the present condition of blight and mildew shall become chronic and permanent, we, on this side of the House, are determined that, so far as lies in our power, a remedy, immediate, permanent, and lasting, must be applied. We take the responsibility, sir, of insisting that the finances of the University be put on a sound, stable, and permanent footing, by providing such an annual payment as will fairly and fully meet the desires and propositions of those best able to judge of its necessities to-day, and that this be done forthwith."

"Further, that as soon as reasonably may be, with a due regard to the financial ability of the province, and to careful outlay, appropriations for necessary buildings should be made, and, in order to the due carrying out of this latter suggestion, it may well be considered wise and prudent to submit the question of buildings to a commission of gentlemen who, from their standing and experience, may be trusted to arrive at a conclusion which will be satisfactory to the Legislature and to the people. Such a commission need not be costly."

"We further urge that, thus dealing with the Provincial University, the direct control of the Government over it be relaxed to a certain extent, so that the experience and judgment of the governing body of the University shall have more influence and power in the appointment of professors, and in the internal management of the institution than at present."

"The fees should be so regulated that the sons and daughters of the relatively poor may find practically an 'open door' at the University."

"We believe that the fund provided by the succession duties should be drawn upon for, at any rate, the annual payment to the University, or a percentage of the amount realized from such duties should be devoted to that purpose. If it be that the moneys arising from the succession duties were to be devoted to keeping up the asylums and charitable institutions, the answer is that educational institutions are "charities," in the eyes of the law. This is well-settled doctrine."

"It is not possible to ignore, in the consideration of this very important question, the subject of Queen's University. Its standing as a great educational institution is well known. From a small beginning, its foundation caused and justified by the then condition of our educational system, it has gone on growing deservedly in importance and influence, until to-day it is not too much to

say that it is no small part of the educational life of the province. It cannot be lightly passed over. However, sir, as I have said, we are dealing with conditions, not theories. We believe that the steps I have indicated should be taken without delay, with reference to the Provincial University, and then any claim that may be advanced by the sister institution should be considered fairly and equitably on its merits, and not lightly dismissed."

"I am convinced that if the policy on this question which I have proposed be adopted, it will meet with the cordial approval of the people. It is a policy which should not be tossed back and forth between political parties, and if we grappled with earnestly, I believe the result will be that we will hold our own, in an educational sense, among the other communities on this continent, and the way of life will be made easier for those that will come after us."

That was the attitude assumed not by me alone, but by my "colleagues and myself in the Legislature of Ontario, and it was of such importance that when, within 48 hours afterwards a large meeting of the alumni of the institution was held in the City of Toronto to insist on the Government doing what I had suggested should be done, a large deputation of distinguished men of the Alumni Association, everyone of whom I believe was opposed to me in politics, came to my office in the Legislature and thanked me for the position which my colleagues and I had taken. (Applause.)

Strange to say, here was now a very important question, a formal declaration of the policy of one of the two great political parties, and yet the Globe did not publish a word of it. I make no charge, I merely state the fact; not one word regarding the attitude of the Opposition on this great question found its way into the columns of the Globe. Stranger still to say, a few days or a week afterwards in an editorial in the Globe, I read these words: "It is gratifying that Mr. Whitney has taken up so correct and wise a position." (Laughter.) "On this as on the question of aiding Queen's University, Mr. Whitney's position is unexceptionable." And still they would not print my position. Now, I would like to imagine what Mr. Ross' feelings were, and what his language was when he read these two excerpts which I have taken from the Globe. They say we have "no policy," and yet say also that our policy is "unexceptionable." (Laughter.)

THE PROVINCIAL FINANCES.

On another occasion I will endeavor to show more fully the reasons why the financial system of the Government ended in disaster, but the marked feature of the management of Ontario finances by the present Government has been the large and steady increase of expenditure, accompanied by increased taxation, while at the same time the resources of the province have been wasted and given away to friends of the Government without any adequate return. The expenditure for the ordinary services of government other than payments for railways, public works, and buildings was:

In 1874	\$ 1,800,000
In 1890	2,900,000
In 1900	2,600,000

In the last ten years this expenditure for ordinary services has increased (practically) \$700,000, while at the same time new taxes from succession duties, licenses, distillers, and companies were imposed, which last year produced over \$650,000.

During the last session succession duties were extended to cover movable property outside the province, and an extraordinary provision was made whereby the amount of a man's debts will determine the amount of succession duty—the more that owes the greater the duty to be paid on his estate. And even with these increases the expenditure continues to increase several hundred thousand dollars yearly beyond the revenue.

MR. STRATTON'S DECEPTION.

With a view to misleading the people as to this increase of expenditure and new taxation, Mr. Stratton stated at Newington, in Stormont, and again at Tara, in Bruce, that "the expenditure in 1900 was only \$81,000 greater than in 1874." The money paid out in 1900 was only \$81,000 more than in 1874, but in 1874 \$1,300,000 of Sandfield Macdonald's cash surplus was distributed to the municipalities, none was paid them in 1900; in 1874 \$113,000 of clergy reserve money, called the municipalities' fund, was paid to the municipalities, none in 1900. And in these two items alone Mr. Stratton, a responsible Minister, undertook to deceive the people to the extent of a million and a half of dollars. And in 1874 the expenditure on public buildings, works and railways was much in excess of 1900.

INCREASING EXPENDITURE.

In the years 1894 to 1898, except 1897, when there was a largely increased revenue owing to the mining boom, the annual expenditure averaged from \$2,700,000 to \$3,300,000, while the annual revenue, other than moneys borrowed or received as bonus on timber sales, averaged from \$2,300,000 to \$2,400,000, thus leaving an annual deficit of from three to four hundred thousand dollars, except in 1897.

This was the contention of the Opposition at the last general election, and they asserted that direct taxation must follow unless the expenditure was reduced. After the election, in 1899, Mr. Hardy admitted its truth by imposing new taxes on licenses, distilleries, and companies, excluding banks, railroads, fire and life insurance companies, and others, to the extent of \$350,000 yearly, which must be deducted from the bonus to be added to the policies in favor of the widows and orphans.

1900

Last year, 1900, the total receipts were about \$4,300,000, but of this no less than \$670,000 was for bonus on timber sale (\$638,000) and principal of drainage debentures (\$34,000), so that the income was not over \$3,530,000, apart from timber bonus. The expenditure in the same year was \$4,000,000, deducting from which the grants to the Ottawa Fire and Patriotic Funds (\$33,000), the Northern Survey (\$35,000), and the re-purchase of asylum mortgages (\$63,000), in all \$131,000, we have still an expenditure of \$3,864,000, which should have been met by the revenue of \$3,530,000, but was not, there being a deficit for 1900 of over \$300,000, covered up by a timber sale.

1901

For the current year, 1901, the estimated expenditure, including railway payments, is \$4,150,000, to meet which the estimated revenue is only \$3,800,000. The expenditure has increased over that from 1894 to 1898 by \$350,000, and another deficit of that amount is in view for the current year. This deficit it is sought again to temporarily cover by another timber sale to be held this year. More taxation must be expected, especially as such sales cannot be held every year, and the revenue from timber points to a steady diminution. No attempt is made to reduce expenses, but, on the contrary, they steadily increase.

Mr. Whitney next dealt with the scrap iron assessment, showing how the Government had legislated in favor of the corporations so soon as the judgment in favor of the companies known as the "scrap iron" decision had been given.

LAW REFORM.

Now there is the question of law reform. For years no earnest attempt has been made to grapple with this question at all, and I have no hesitation in saying that some of the changes have not had the desired effect and have not

had a good effect. Occasionally the Government has adopted, with a great flourish of trumpets, some English Statute and said, "See what we have done," when it was an exact transcript of an English Statute passed a few years before. We say that the Division Court must not be abolished, that it must remain the poor man's Court, in which the strict rules of evidence and technicalities shall not have a place, in which a sensible and intelligent judge shall have the power to get at the facts in a case unhampered by the more technical methods of the higher Courts; we say that some of the anomalies attached to the Division Court should be removed, but it should remain essentially, as now, the poor man's Court. We say the great object of the Legislature should be the lessening of the expense of litigation, expending the results of it, and provide one provincial appeal from a trial judge. (Applause.) That is our position and the position by which we propose to stand.

MR. ROSS' PROGRAMME.

Now I come to Mr. Ross' programme. A financial commission was issued to endeavor to find the surplus which they said had existed during all these years in which many of you and myself have grown up from young men into men that have passed the prime of life. The financial commission, however, did not say there was a surplus, although the Government has claimed a surplus of from four to six millions.

Next is the drainage question. I wish some of you would get that Act and read the preamble and see how long your head aches after you read it. You are aware that the Government of Ontario has the power to recommend to the Legislature, and the Legislature has the right to carry, any grant in aid of under-drainage, and for years it has been the custom, very often properly, of the Government to propose to the Legislature certain grants for drainage in different parts of the province, and these grants were made. Now Mr. Ross made a great flourish of trumpets about an Act which allowed him to do something which he had had the power to do and had done for years.

REMOUNTS.

Mr. Ross declared that he would establish remount stations, and that he was in communication with the Imperial Government. Shortly afterwards I asked if he had received a reply. After studying quite a while, Mr. Ross said that the answer of the War Department had been unfavorable. I can show you here, from Lord Strathcona's report and from other sources, that the British Government has been going on buying horses, and there were 3,380 horses bought between April and July of this year. Mr. Ross tells you that he is going to do great things in the matter of the remounts, but it is like the Clergue question, the things are being done without him.

DRESSED BEEF.

Now as to the dressed beef. I am afraid that is in some places a tender question. Dr. Pyne, as long ago as 1898, in a speech in this city, advocated the obtaining of a market for dressed beef in Great Britain and yet his suggestion fell apparently on unheeding ears. Mr. Ross said that his Government was going to take such steps that the farmers of this province would find a market in Great Britain for their dressed beef. He spoke as if he knew all about it, but within a week Mr. Davies, a supporter, told him in the Globe that it would be impossible to find a market in Great Britain until Ontario got better cattle. Lord Strathcona, in his report, said that until Canada can furnish a large and constant supply of cattle equal to those of the United States the prospect of establishing a paying chilled beef trade is small indeed. Here we have the Premier telling what he is going to do to get a dressed beef market, and then one of his colleagues instead of working night and day, as his

duty would be, to help crystallize into actual existence the policy of his chief, says by an object lesson to the whole civilized world, there is no use in trying to raise beef in Ontario. Dakota is the place to raise it! (Applause.) Now it is not a crime to go to Dakota and invest in a ranch at all, but it is a malversation of his duty for the Minister of Agriculture of the Province of Ontario to do that which will militate against the interests of dressed beef in Ontario, to say nothing about the deliberate insult which he offers to the position taken by his chief and leader. (Applause.) Then Mr. Pettypiece, whom I know very well—a very genial man who got into the Legislature by accident last election, and there is no joke about that, he will admit it himself—although a strong Government supporter, denounced Mr. Dryden's conduct and insisted that he should be relieved from office. Quite a hubbub was raised in the Government ranks, but Mr. Pettypiece stood by his guns. Now, Hon. Mr. Stratton is a colleague of Mr. Dryden, and Mr. Pettypiece justified his attack on Mr. Dryden at a meeting in his constituency, to his people, and they unanimously endorsed his attitude, and Mr. Dryden's colleague, Mr. Stratton, stood by and apparently took part in the condemnation of his colleague! Imagine, if you can, a British Minister standing on the platform by the side of a man who is denouncing the act of his colleague, a Cabinet Minister, and the Minister present saying nothing in reply and remaining in that Government! (Applause.)

NICKEL

Another article in Mr. Ross' programme was nickel, but he (Mr. Whitney) would not give a nickel for all the results of that programme. (Laughter.) The cold-storage policy of the Government had resulted in one cold-storage station taking advantage of the Act which was passed. The only effect of the grants to the highways had been to make the County and Township Councils quarrel.

ELECTION SCANDALS

"Now then," continued Mr. Whitney, "for some of the things for which the Government should be condemned." The public knew all about West Elgin and North Waterloo, but these questions were of infinitely more importance with regard to public morality and the happiness of the people than any others. He had called upon the Lieutenant-Governor, as the representative of Her Majesty, even if his Ministers were unwilling, that the cover should be taken off this iniquity, to compel them to do so, and he had also appealed to the religious press, but he could not say that he saw any appreciable answer to that request. All summer this agitation was kept up, and at last a commission was appointed—to do what? He said it publicly that the commission was issued with the deliberate intention of concealing the frauds and preventing punishment. (Hear, hear.) The instructions to the commission excluded all the scoundrels who had done the evil work excepting one or two, and the investigation was confined to the acts of the Returning Officers, Deputy Returning Officers and Poll Clerks! The commissioners exceeded their authority when they investigated the burning of the West Elgin ballots at the Parliament Buildings. Nine or ten boxes containing the bye-election ballots were deposited on one side of the room, and all the boxes relating to the other 94 elections were placed on the other. Somebody, as the commissioners said, undoubtedly went over and took one of the nine boxes that should not have been touched, and, stranger still, took the one containing the poison which would have killed the Ontario Government!

And yet, the commissioners, judges though they were, had the assurance to tell the people of this province that it was done involuntarily and by accident! The three men who signed the report might believe it, but they were the only human beings in the province who did. (Applause.) Mr. Whitney repeated

his declaration that the Government dare not prosecute Fritchett, who challenged prosecution, for if he was prosecuted it would be discovered that the slimy track of the machine led backward to a room adjacent to that of the Executive Council of the Parliament Buildings.

Referring to the recent prosecution of Wildfong and Cummings in North Waterloo, Mr. Whitney said there was no intention that there should be a conviction, and he was sorry to say it, but the Attorney-General of Ontario had degraded and disgraced his high office by the course he pursued in this matter. (Hear, hear.)

The speaker said he would read some extracts from the press on this subject. The Farmers' Sun said on different occasions:—

"If, in the prosecution of ordinary crime, the officials of the Crown were to follow the course adopted by the Government in West Elgin, would not the results be likely to prove as inconclusive as the result of the enquiry there? How many parties would be convicted of crime in this province if the Crown prosecutors were to rely for evidence at the trial not upon the result of close investigation and enquiry, but upon such witnesses as might come forward in answer to advertisements? How many bank robbers would be jailed if no detectives were set upon their tracks, and the resources of those charged with the administration of justice were not freely drawn upon? In the West Elgin case there has been a conspicuous absence of effort to bring the offenders to justice, and although the crimes were committed eighteen months ago, not a single detective has been put upon the trail, nor a single criminal put behind the bars."

"The latest act of the Government is the appointment of counsel to conduct the so-called investigation. Yet in its choice of counsel it persisted in its mistaken course. It is beside the question for Mr. Ross to talk of the honor of the men whom he selected to conduct the enquiry. However honorable the business is growing deeper rather than abating. If the Government would hardly take him from the side of the prisoner and instruct him to present the case against his own client. Yet the Government has placed the bringing out of the evidence in the West Elgin case in the exclusive control of two men, one of whom is the legal adviser of the very machine charged with the commission of the frauds and the other is an active Liberal politician who was only recently employed as counsel for his party in election matters. In its appointment of counsel the Government has shown a disregard of public decency which has, we believe, hardly a parallel in the history of Canadian politics. As to whether the object of the Government in making these appointments was to ensure that the facts should be brought out or that the facts should be concealed we leave our readers to draw their own conclusions. Public disgust over this whole shameful business is growing deeper rather than abating. If the Government would escape from the tangled web it has been weaving and do its full duty to the public, it cannot too quickly change its course."

Mr. Whitney said he had also a complaint from the Kingston Whig, a staunch Liberal paper, which denounced the Government for the failure of justice in the case of Wildfong and Cummings. The Whig said:—

"The prosecution of Mr. Wildfong, who was a deputy-returning officer in the North Waterloo election case, about two years ago, for switching seventeen ballots that were cast for the Conservative candidate, ended with his acquittal. And herein is a mystery. When the election case was under trial Judge Meredith found that Wildfong, or someone in connivance with him, did the wrong, and Judge Osler agreed with him, and it was recommended that Wildfong be prosecuted under the Criminal Code. Why was that prosecution delayed two years? It is held that certain civil actions were pending and that they had to be disposed of. It is held, also, that certain important witnesses were not available, and that it would have

been useless to proceed without them. These reasons are not generally acceptable, and the Government cannot escape the suspicion of not being anxious for a conviction. The necessity for an immediate prosecution appears to be evident from this experience. The election case judges should have the power to apply the punishment when they find the wrong-doers and the evidence of their offences. Why should two years elapse between the detection of the crime and the atonement for it? The curious feature of this case is the fact that the man, who is held by one court to be guilty of dealing fraudulently with the ballots cast in his division, is acquitted in another. True, the ballots that were present in the one instance were not present in the other, though they, of themselves, could prove nothing. The ballots were switched. That is certain. Who did it? The voters or the deputy-returning officer? The latter says he did not, and one of the scrutineers, who was detailed to watch him, says Wildfong did not miscount or alter the ballots as he took them out of the box. The voters in the case could have been sworn. Why was this not done? Supposing that they declared on oath, that each ballot was free of the marks that were found upon it, would the returning officer not be obliged to account for the marks or stand accused of switching? The man has been acquitted, but there is something about the case which is unsatisfactory, and which calls for a change in the routine of election trials. The judges who find the wrong-doers should punish them at once, and the law should be amended so as to permit of this being done."

The speaker then took up what he termed the infamous census circular sent out by Ontario members of the Legislature in bunches to be put in the hands of census enumerators. The idea was to secure from them information which would give the Liberals control of the voters' lists, and every enumerator who conveyed that information would have committed perjury. Here is what Mr. Ross said about it:—

"He had heard of the circular referred to by Mr. Whitney. He did not see what danger there was in it. Whom would it injure? He did not see that there was any political significance in it, or anything of a hurtful or degrading character! He did not presume that every census enumerator would perjure himself to give the information. Mr. Whitney tried to divert attention from the Government's general record, and snatch a victory."

No wonder the census got into a snarl. Instead of attending to their duties the enumerators were perjuring themselves to give information in order to gain an advantage over the Conservative party.

PROLONGING THEIR LIFE.

Mr. Whitney then assailed the Government's action in seeking to prolong its own life by extending the term of Parliament. He was in a position to say that he believed the Minister of Justice at Ottawa had denounced it. It remained to be seen how far the Government would go in this last attempt of theirs to stifle the will of the province. What was the object? Was it to cover up a gerrymander and prevent the Opposition from fighting to the death, till the time of the Legislature expired, to prevent it? What did the Globe say?

"All that it does is to remove from the Opposition the temptation to embarrass the Government by obstructing business in the Legislature until such time as the House would be virtually dissolved by the arrival of the date that constitutionally terminate its existence."

He had also an extract from the Ottawa Free Press, an organ of the Ontario and Dominion Governments, denouncing this bill in the strongest possible language. This extract read:

"The current Weekly Sun contains a paragraph which runs: The Act of the Ontario Legislature prolonging its own existence beyond the legal term, we are told, is pronounced unconstitutional by the highest authority. What authority

is the highest we are not told. Intelligence lower than the higher finds it difficult to understand how a clause in the British North America Act empowering the Provincial Legislature to amend the constitution can convey a power of prolonging the existence of a particular House beyond its legal term without amending the constitution in any way whatever."

"And then the clause of the B. N. A. Act providing that 'every Legislative Assembly of Ontario shall continue for four years from the day of the return of the writs and no longer,' is cited, and the *Sun* writer proceeds to say that 'here, according to the highest authority, 'no longer' means as much longer as the party in the majority may for its own political purposes see fit. Is the power unlimited? Is the present House, or any House, at liberty, disregarding the conditions of its election by the people, to prolong its own existence and authority to any extent it pleases?' The 'highest authority' has, in fact, declared flatly against the Act, and it has been said that such authority has held that what is entitled chapter four of the Statutes of Ontario 1, Edward VII., is null and void, being ultra vires, and consequently worthless. It does not even need disallowing according to the same 'high authority.' The question was discussed at the time the Legislature prorogued, and the press was almost a unit in its condemnation of the proposed enactment, and the dangerous principle it involved."

Dr. Goldwin Smith, Mr. Whitney continued, put it very nicely, as follows:—

"The Act of the Ontario Legislature prolonging its own existence beyond the legal term, we are told, is pronounced constitutional by the highest authority. What authority is the highest, we are not told. Intelligence lower than the highest finds it difficult to understand how a clause in the British North America Act empowering the Provincial Legislature to amend the constitution can convey a power of prolonging the existence of a particular House beyond its legal term without amending the constitution in any way whatever. "Every Legislative Assembly of Ontario and every Legislative Assembly of Quebec shall continue for four years from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the name (subject nevertheless to either the Legislative Assembly of Ontario or the Legislative Assembly of Quebec being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor of the province), and no longer." Here, according to the highest authority, "no longer" means as much longer as the party in the majority may, for its political purposes, see fit. Is the power unlimited? Is the present House, or any House, at liberty, disregarding the conditions of its election by the people, to prolong its own existence and authority to any extent it pleases?"

CONSERVATIVE POLICY SUMMARIZED.

Mr. Whitney advocates gain to the "no policy" cry raised by the Liberals against the Opposition. The "no policy" cry, he said, was not original. It was pirated from the Imperialists of England, who raised it in 1895. On February 19th of that year Mr. James Bryce launched it in the Commons. Mr. Chamberlain at once replied to Mr. Bryce thus:—

"He actually made it a complaint against members of the Opposition that they had not found a policy for him. He is a member of the Government that has forgotten how to govern, and that has not learnt how to resign. Let the right hon. gentleman resign, we will find him a policy. But we are not going to lend him our prescriptions while he takes the fees."

"Now, then, I am practically done," said the speaker, "but let me recapitulate in the briefest manner a few of the points I have endeavored to make to-night."

LAW REFORM.

Divest the Division Court of many of the anomalies which now hamper its usefulness. Lessen the expense and expedite the results of litigation, and provide, without further delay, one final and conclusive provincial appeal from a trial judge.

NEW ONTARIO.

The development of the unsettled parts of the province and its resources, as hitherto advocated by the Opposition, should be proceeded with and the people of the older sections of the province will not object to any reasonable expenditure. A railway to the Temiscamingue District should be aided.

RAILWAY GRANTS.

Grants to the railways should only be made for development or colonization purposes, and in such cases only after most careful examination into the merits of each application. In every case stock or security should be taken for the amount advanced, and freight and passenger rates should be controlled by the Legislature. If moneys granted by other provinces by way of bonus to local railways are to be paid back to such provinces by the Dominion Government, Ontario must insist upon justice being done her in the same way.

MINERALS.

Substantial encouragement should be given to the development and refining of our several mineral ores, in order to hasten the time when we can insist that the entire process of refining be carried on here, instead of in a foreign country.

TIMBER, PULPWOOD, AND SAWLOGS.

Stock should be taken of our timber resources, in order to ascertain with reasonable exactness the amount and area of our timber wealth, so that the people may be in a position to judge of the course pursued by the Government and Legislature with reference to this most valuable asset.

Included in this is our great pulpwood wealth, which should be dealt with as far as possible on the same principle as our timber, and should be disposed of open, by public competition.

It is hardly necessary to say that the policy of the Opposition regarding sawlogs, which has brought about such beneficial results, must be continued.

FINANCES.

The financial position of the province is the key to the situation. With our extensive resources the problem of the provincial finances can be easily solved, leaving the way clear for such increased expenditure on agriculture and education as may be found necessary and desirable, and this result can be arrived at without periodically selling timber limits, or, in other words, capital stock, to cover up an anticipated deficit caused by the excess of annual expenditure over annual income.

AGRICULTURE.

Grants for agricultural purposes should be increased, and especially looking forward to the early establishment of additional agricultural schools.

FOOD TRANSPORTATION.

We should co-operate heartily with the Dominion Government in improving the facilities for the transportation of our food products, and our Department of Agriculture should, without any further delay, address itself to the question of the improvement of the breed of our cattle, in order that we may obtain a market in Great Britain for dressed beef, and allow the dressed beef of Dakota to find a market without our assistance.

EDUCATION.

The Public School curriculum must be so changed and framed that the ninety-five per cent. of our children who cannot go further than the Public

school will there receive the best possible education suited to their needs, having regard especially to the fact that their education begins and ends in the Public School. Under the present system the individuality of the pupil and the moulding of character are entirely lost sight of in favor of the machine-like system of written examinations, the effect of which in our system is, as Principal Grant aptly and significantly observes, "to cramp the mind and destroy the vitality."

The teachers of the province should be called upon to contribute from their very valuable experience by choosing, from among themselves, members of a consultative body, which will represent the combined wisdom of the best qualified men in the province and whose advice will be always at the command of the Minister.

The urgent needs of the University of Toronto should be dealt with in no niggardly spirit. The University should be put upon a sound, stable, and permanent footing, and delay will in this respect be the sure forerunner of further stagnation and of decay. As already indicated, the claims of Queen's University must be considered in no captious or technical spirit, and having regard to the great educational work which it has performed and will perform in the future. The burden imposed upon the people by the frequent changes and high prices of school books must be lightened.

MUNICIPAL LAW AND ASSESSMENT.

Owing to the neglect of the Government the volume of municipal law has become cumbrous, involved, and unwieldy and should be thoroughly condensed and revised.

The most crying evil in our municipal system to-day is the very unsatisfactory condition of our assessment law. For some time the Government has for the reasons already indicated encouraged a scheme of assessment which would unduly favor certain corporations at the expense of the ordinary ratepayer, the last step towards the accomplishment of which was taken when the Premier introduced last session the bill containing the monstrous proposition enabling Municipal Councils to exempt from taxation the property of certain corporations for three years at a time without the consent of the ratepayers!

The fact that the leader of a Government dared to submit such legislation, coupled with the fact that he carefully refrained from alluding to it when before the people, is a significant indication of the position of the Government with relation to the great corporations, and a startling intimation to the ratepayers of the province of the dangers that confront them. Will the ratepayers quietly submit or will they give their assistance to the Opposition so that this question may be settled once and forever in their favor?

BALLOT STEALING.

While the moral sense of the people of Ontario will no doubt, soon speak in unmistakable tones and render it very difficult, if not impossible, for a Government ever again to hold power by virtue of the violation of the ballot-box, and the destruction of the evidence of guilt, or to stand between the actual perpetrators of these crimes and their just punishment, yet legislation must be had to render collusion between such criminals and the beneficiaries of their crimes impossible in the future.

As to the difficulties in the way, we must not forget that, at present, at any rate, the men in whose power it may lie to expedite or retard such legislation are those who could see no harm in the infamous census circular, those on whose behalf the bye-elections of 1898 were stolen, those who have not felt ashamed to hold office and receive salaries under such circumstances, those in whose interest the incriminating ballots in West Hilda were burned, those who carefully concealed the destruction of this evidence, those who strained every

nerve to prevent full investigation ; those who have so far successfully cheated justice, and shielded from punishment the ruffians whose acts have kept them in office ; and the people will not forget that, after all, this their leader, with "face of triple brass," announces to the people, whose honor he has outraged, that a portion of his policy will be the improvement and enforcement of all laws affecting public morality," and further, "I shall devote all my energies not simply to the development of the country, but to the moral improvement of the people. Righteousness exalteth a nation !"

"This is the anti-climax," continued Mr. Whitney. "Here we have the gentleman who has been the prime mover in all these acts, delivering himself as I have just read."

The speaker said he proposed to address other meetings in different parts of the province, and would then discuss in more detail several of the subjects he had touched upon, as well as others upon which he was then unable to touch. They were ready to go to the country now, but before the general election they would perhaps satisfy the curiosity of those of their opponents who were wondering what else they (the Opposition) were going to do.

AN ELOQUENT PERORATION.

Mr. Whitney closed his speech of nearly three hours with this eloquent peroration :—

Mr. Chairman,—God has abundantly blessed this country in which we live. If we do not forget this fact, and if we realize that by the law of compensation—from which there is no appeal—some return must be made, by nations as well as individuals, for the benefits and blessings which they have received, then we will be able to pass on to our children the happy conditions under which we have lived. I dread, sir, to contemplate the reverse of the picture, and my confidence in the love of fair play, the love of justice and in the self-respect of our people renders it unnecessary. As for my colleagues in the Legislature and myself, we do not prate of our capacity or of our virtue. We believe that the people of Ontario desire honest and clean government, and therefore we ask the assistance and co-operation of all those who are ready to defend the public honor and public decency. We will endeavor to do our duty. We will ask the people to judge us by the same standard by which we now ask them to judge our opponents. If we fail, we shall know what to expect, while if we succeed—even measurably—we know that we will receive from the people that appreciation which all public men who do their duty have a right to expect, and more than which they have no right to ask.

At the conclusion of the address Mr. Whitney resumed his seat amid prolonged applause. A vote of thanks was then tendered him, which was moved by W. H. Hoyle, M.P.P. for North Ontario, and seconded by Dr. Kaiser, of South Ontario, and carried with three hearty cheers.

Mr. Whitney at Charleston

On Sept. 19th, 1861, Mr. Whitney and Mr. Foy addressed an enthusiastic public meeting at Charleston, in the County of Peel. He said, in part:—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, of the County of Peel—I have looked forward with a great deal of pleasure to my visit to this County; I wished to see and become acquainted with the people of the County which produces men like Robert Blain and Samuel Charters. (Applause.) I speak of the two men as representatives of the County of Peel, because although the formal part of electing Mr. Charters has not yet been gone through with, it will be gone through with before very long, and then my good friend Mr. John Smith will feel bound to acquiesce in the choice of the people of the County of Peel.

Before I say anything with regard to matters political, I desire to concur in the very proper and graceful words used by my friend Mr. Foy with regard to the terrible affliction which Providence in His Infinite Wisdom has chosen to bring down upon the people of the United States—a people practically one with ourselves in many respects as you are all aware. The peculiar enormity of the crime brings it home to every British heart, brings it home to every man and woman, citizens of any civilized country, who has proper regard not only for fair play and for justice but for the laws either of God or of man. The murdered President was not only a man who occupied with acceptability to his people the high position of Chief Magistrate of the United States, but he had proved conclusively within the few short years during which he had occupied that position that he was able to take his country into a war and bring it out again, and also able to do that which I am sure appeals most strongly to every person within sound of my voice, namely, to bring into closer accord the two great nations of the world whose duty evidently in the future is under God's Providence to march forward together in one grand procession, having for its objective point the protection of life and liberty, and the advancement of civilization and of Christianity everywhere. (Applause.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, there are a great many things I would like to discuss with you to-day, a number of which however I must pass over because "enough is as good as a feast," even of political subjects, but some few of them I shall have to deal with, and I promise you I will make my reference to them as short as possible.

I am glad to see and meet with you; I am glad to stand before this large audience, especially when I think that I, the humble representative of the Conservative party of the Province of Ontario, have been taunted and twitted in the past by the assertion, which was false to the knowledge of the men who made it, that we have no policy and no standing before the people. And one proof of our standing with the people is that here in this County of Peel we are welcomed to-day by an audience such as the whole Ross aggregation has not been able for months to bring together for a similar purpose. (Applause.)

All over the Province of Ontario the Ministers have gone out, hunting in couples, for what? For some recognition of what they say is the credit to which they are entitled at the hands of the people of the province. Let me

tell you this, and let no man think I am exaggerating, when I say it, that in the rural districts of the Province of Ontario out of twenty or thirty meetings held by the Ministers there were not three at which there were three hundred people present. (Laughter.)

And so we have decided that it is not necessary for us to go on what is called a tour throughout the province, but we will go to certain places and attempt to show what is the position and the claims of the Conservative party with reference to the benefits which we say we will be able to bring to the people of the Province. Someone has said, perhaps it was both Mr. Foy and Mr. Charters, that the Ministers and their party have not admitted that they have done anything wrong or that they were sorry for having done anything of the kind. Well perhaps occasionally we have heard expressions of regret for some of the acts of some of the friends of the Ministers, but I have seen nothing yet in the nature of any expression which shows any penitence for their crimes. And penitence is necessary. Does not the well known Lenten hymn say,

"In vain the outward sign of grief,
In vain the formal prayer,
Unless the heart implore relief
And penitence be there."

Who ever heard of penitence being expressed by any apologist of the Ross Government? (Applause.) Ask my friend Mr. John Smith whether they are sorry and whether he feels penitence; whether he can beat his breast and find an echo coming from there that tells him he is permeated with the spirit of penitence for the misdeeds as a supporter of the Ross Government? (Laughter and applause.)

THE SCHOOL BOOK QUESTION.

Coming to the consideration of public questions let us take the question of education, than which there is no question of greater importance. (Hear, hear.) We have stated over and over again the position of the Conservative Party, and I will now refer only to the subject of school books. A sensible system of school books must be brought into existence and the people not be worried and harried as they have been year after year with regard to them. (Applause.)

Mr. Ross tells us, with the greatest condescension, I was going to say, that it costs only a few dollars to buy all the school books necessary for the Ontario course. What do I say in reply? I say nothing about it, because I know that you know what you pay better than Mr. Ross knows (Applause), and therefore I do not think it worth while to take up your time and my own proving to you what you spend for school books when each one of you knows best himself, if any person on earth knows. (Applause.) A practical revolution is needed in the Department of Education in this province, and unless I am very much mistaken the appointment of a Superintendent of Education will become absolutely necessary before very long. Mr. Ross, in 1897, issued a commission in secret to a number of gentlemen to inquire into, take evidence on, and report on the question whether the price of school books was too high. He did this in secret, a thing that no British Cabinet Minister has ever been guilty of doing, and I have challenged over and over again, without getting a reply, the production of an instance of such a thing having been done. The public was not made acquainted with it; the members of the Legislature knew nothing of it. The commission met in secret and took evidence, and on the day before the last day of the Session of the last Parliament, in January 1898, the report of these gentlemen was laid on the desk of each member too late to be discussed. And this was the first intimation that such a commission had been issued. And what do you think the report was? Why, it was that the price of school books was not too high. (Laughter.) Now I have their report here, and a list of the witnesses, and

there are twenty witnesses. Two of them were statistical witnesses and therefore their evidence is of no particular consequence, but who do you think the other eighteen were? Their names were given to the commissioners, and they were told to call them and no one else. I will read you the names if you ask it, but every one of them was either a paper maker, a bookbinder, or a book publisher! (Laughter and applause.) Was it not a strange thing that that commission should report that the price of school books was not too high?

You have read in the papers lately something about a gentleman called Morang, a publisher in Toronto. He has thrown down the gage of battle to the Government. He has said that there is a school book ring in the Province of Ontario, and that he is going to break it up. I say to you also that there is a school book ring in the Province of Ontario composed of a few publishers, every one of whom has become a wealthy man, and I believe every one of whom contributes money to the Grit election fund. (Applause.) Now there was an agreement for ten years, which expired in 1886, and was renewed then for ten years more. It was an agreement between the Government and certain book publishers, to this effect. For certain sets of Readers the agreement provided that these gentlemen were to publish them at a certain price. In those readers were a lot of stories and selections from English writers, the copyrights of which were and are held in England. Then there is a provision in this contract—and I want to show you now how cunning some people can be, and how much dodging can be done in such contracts by men who wish to dodge. There is a clause which provides that if any outside publisher wishes to take a hand in publishing these books, these gentlemen, the parties of the first part, will consent that he shall do so and do all in their power to aid him to become also a publisher of school books. By the way, one of the school books says to-day that there is a population of 30,000 in the City of Toronto! That is one of the items of history that you find in a school book, and you find several men of distinguished reputation who have been dead a number of years spoken of as living. In March Mr. Morang mailed and registered a letter to the present Minister of Education asking to be allowed to publish school books. He has published that letter. He got a reply acknowledging his letter, but from that day to this he has never had an answer as to whether he will be allowed to come in or not. And here are the plain terms of this contract allowing him in. Mr. Morang proposes to see whether the Government intends to allow him in or not. At any rate he intends to try to get an answer from them. Now I will show you the effect of the cunning provision in this contract. These selections, the copyright of which is held in England, cannot be published in Ontario without the consent of the parties who hold the copyright. These book publishers of Toronto, have the permission of the English publishers who have the copyrights, to use these extracts; but the moment a third party comes in and says "I wish to take advantage of that clause of the contract, and I call upon you as you have agreed as far as is in your power to do so to aid me."; oh, they say, "we are quite willing that you should do it, but unfortunately we have only permission to use them ourselves, the publishers in England won't allow it, and we cannot help you." Consequently the monopoly goes on and it will exist until the power of the Ross Government to keep it in existence is taken away. (Applause.) Now Mr. Ross—and I have told him so on the floor of the House more than once—saw the coming wave of dissatisfaction all over the province with respect to our educational system and he thought it well to get out. He did get out and Mr. Harcourt is there to-day, sitting practically upon a hornet's nest. (Laughter.) And to-day let me tell you that the friends and the heelers and workers of the Ontario Government are chasing after Mr. Morang, trying to bulldoze him, frighten him, induce him to give up his attempt to bring to book the school book ring in the City of Toronto, and I believe they are doing so under the distinct orders and instructions of the Government of Ontario, but I believe that no inducement whatever will succeed in turning Mr. Morang aside

from the path on which he is walking now until he succeeds in his endeavor, namely the breaking up of the school book ring of the Province of Ontario.

THE FINANCES.

With relation to the finances of the province, Mr. Foy has dealt with the subject in a very satisfactory way, and I will try to touch only upon points not alluded to by him. The Government long ago abandoned Sandfield Macdonald's policy, which was that of every successful man or corporation, viz., to take care every year to keep the expenditure within the revenue. It is a simple thing, an elementary rule in finance, and one the abandonment of which brings certain disaster to an individual or a community within a very short period of time. The Government went on selling timber limits, as Mr. Foy has told you, and putting the money in the annual receipts, and when they subtracted the expenditure from that, they said, look at the surplus we have got, when instead of being richer the country was absolutely poorer by the transaction. And so they went on until as long ago as 1880, the Globe newspaper gave them this warning: "The opinion is forced home to us that the time has come to cry, 'Halt' or at least to review our career as a province, and to endeavor to forecast the future as frankly as our bearings will allow. We certainly think that the maximum in outlay has been reached, that it would be unwise to increase it beyond present figures. To do that would only hasten on the day of direct taxation, a consummation to be staved off to as distant a period as possible."

THE ASSESSMENT QUESTION.

That was the very good advice given by the Globe as long ago as 1880, and it is quite in line with the position taken by our party on this question. During the years 1884-5-6, there was a deficit every year. There is no doubt about this; the only dispute that has ever occurred with regard to it has been as to the amount, but roughly speaking the deficit has amounted to between \$400,000 and \$500,000 per annum. Mr. Hardy made no pretence of denying this fact and so they found that direct taxation, which had been foreshadowed by the Globe had come upon them at last. They went to work then to frame a Tax Bill by which to raise new revenue in the province, and taxes were put upon banks, insurance and other companies, as you are aware. Some of the companies did not like it very well, but in 1899 seven or eight bye-elections took place—and now I want to speak to you very seriously upon a very serious subject—I say to you and to the people of the province that in 1899 a certain number of these corporations furnished a large amount of money to the Ontario Government, which money carried the bye-elections by means of stealing the ballots and other thievery, and kept this Government in power against the will of the majority of the voters of this province. (Applause.) I make the statement boldly, and I am not making it nearly as strongly as I did to Mr. Ross face to face with him in the Legislature last Session, and then I said I was prepared to sit down and be contradicted, but there was no contradiction offered. (Hear, hear.) Now the corporations having given this money wanted something in return, and then the Supplementary Revenue Act was amended declaring that the property of these corporations—you know the kind I mean—should be assessable and taxable, as they were by law on the first of February, 1899. That was a strange thing, and no one not in the secret could understand what was meant by saying that their property should be assessable and taxable as it was on the first day of February, 1899. But let us go on a little further. For many years previous to 1894 no attempt was made to assess the rails, poles, wires, etc., of Street Railway Companies, etc., but in 1894 the City of Toronto assessed the Consumers' Gas Co. for \$500,000 in respect of its mains and pipes laid under the streets of the city. The case went from court to court until it reached the Supreme Court of Canada, 27 S.C.R. 463. It was then

decided that the Company was liable to assessment upon their mains and pipes as land, but that such property must be assessed in the several wards of the city. By this decision a very large class of property became for the first time liable to assessment, but the very decision that made it so liable qualified the liability by determining that the property so assessed must be assessed in the several wards.

Later on in the case of the Bell Telephone Company vs. City of Hamilton, 25 A.R. 361 and in re London Street Railway, 27 A.R. 83, the companies assessed appealed from an assessment which disregarded the ward limitation and their appeals were upheld by what is now known as the "Scrap Iron" decision: that is to say, the Municipalities were by the ruling of the Supreme Court entitled to assess these properties but only as they existed in each ward and without reference to their connection as a going concern. The moment you made their property real estate you had to assess each bit of it where it was; you could not string it altogether and assess it in one parcel. The property could be assessed only at its value as scrap iron, and this is the origin of this expression, "The scrap iron assessment." Now both the decisions I have mentioned were given prior to the first day of February, 1896, so that when they amended the law to the effect that these properties should be assessable and taxable as they were on the first day of February, 1896, that was to prevent the Municipalities from assessing them at their real value; and to compel them to assess them as scrap iron. Public opinion became aroused, and the repeal of this amendment was insisted on, the Assessment Commission, as Mr. Foy has mentioned, was appointed to deal with the whole question, and Bill No. 167 was introduced, which Mr. Foy has referred to, dealing with the assessment question as a whole. This Bill was prepared by the Assessment Commissioners at the request of the Government, but it was objected to by the corporations as bearing too hard upon them, and it was withdrawn. Before it was withdrawn however, we had a discussion on the first section of it which had reference to the assessment of farm property, and the evident intention of the Act was that a farm should not be assessed simply with regard to the cost of replacing everything that was on it. For instance if a man built a twenty-five thousand dollar house on a twenty-five hundred dollar farm, and then sold out, it would not be right to assess the purchaser on the principle of what it would cost to reproduce a house like that, but for fear the assessors might take that view of it it was agreed in discussion that that section should be amended and several suggestions were made by Members of the House. Among others one was made by myself to add to the clause of the section these words, "That the actual value of the land and buildings should in all cases be the governing consideration." That would have settled the question. I have to tell you this in order to make the story intelligible as I go along. But the Bill never came up for further discussion because the corporations being dissatisfied and the Government under their control, the Bill was withdrawn, or held back at any rate, and never discussed until these clauses were all struck out and new clauses put in.

INFAMOUS BILL NO. 175.

Meantime the corporations were so angry that Mr. Ross introduced a Bill, No. 175, and I told him in the House, in the presence of his colleagues and his supporters, that the Bill was an infamous Bill, and deserved to be burned by the common hangman. (Applause.) You will bear in mind that the corporations were annoyed because of this other Assessment Bill, and that they had given the Government agents money to help the scoundrels who stole and burned the ballots in West Elgin and kept these men in power, by virtue of which they are drawing their salaries to-day and are not ashamed of it. (Laughter and applause.) In order to please these corporations he introduced this Bill, which provided that certain municipal councils in Ontario may for three years at a time

exempt from all taxation the property of these corporations without submitting a by-law to the will of the people! Now there are not one hundred men in the Province of Ontario, I believe, outside of the City of Toronto who understand and believe that a Bill like that was introduced. Why? Because it was withdrawn. Because the unworthy public men who dared to insult the intelligence of an Ontario Legislature by proposing such a scheme, withdrew it quietly, in the dark so to speak, and never dared stand up in the House to say a word in defence of it. (Applause.) I want you people to understand what these men in the Government of Ontario are prepared to do in order to keep power. Suppose there was in your township a long telephone line or electric railway. Under this Bill the municipal council would have the power without reference to the ratepayers to vote that no taxation should be levied on the property of these corporations for three years, and they could snap their fingers at their constituents! Now you can see the outrageous nature of this attempted legislation by Mr. Ross. You know that when a bonus is granted to a railway or to a factory of any kind, not only has a by-law to be submitted to the people, but it has to be endorsed by a vote of two-thirds or three-fifths of the people. But here this conspiracy, hatched and endeavored to be carried out by the men who compose the Government of the province, intended to take deliberately from the people of the province the power to levy taxation on any of these great corporations. They amended Bill No. 167, as Mr. Foy has stated, and within the last two months, two judges have declared that the amendments are of no use, and that the Scrap Iron Assessment is in force yet, so that the corporations still have the long end of the whistle-tree, and they will keep it just as long as Mr. Ross keeps power. Now Mr. Ross held several meetings, just before sailing for England. He is coming home on Saturday, and some people say, I do not know whether it is true, that he has sent instructions to have a steam-boat load of people go over to Niagara and welcome him. Whether that be so or not, he is coming home on Saturday, and his friends are trying to raise a flourish of trumpets over his return. (Laughter.) Before Mr. Ross went to England, he on several occasions explained his position on the assessment law, but he never mentioned this Bill No. 175, that I have been dilating upon to you for the last few minutes. Why did he not mention it? Why was he afraid to mention it? Why was it that he who is considered one of the ablest men of the party in power went on platform after platform, explained his position on the assessment and other important questions and dared not tell the people he had introduced such a Bill? I think no greater compliment could be paid to the good sense and judgment of Mr. Ross, than the statement of the fact that he did not dare do it. (Laughter.)

AID TO RAILWAYS.

Now with regard to assistance to railways. We believe that the time has come when it should only be given for colonization and development purposes, for opening and developing the different portions of the country. (Hear, hear.) There is a point in connection with that that I wish to draw your attention to. The Province of Ontario during the long series of years gave large bonuses to a great number of railways. A few years ago the Dominion Parliament took control of these railways and made them Dominion railways; took them out of the hands of the Legislature of Ontario. Now I believe—although I have not yet been able to satisfy myself thoroughly as to all the facts—that within the last six months or so in the cases of similar railways in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, which were bonused by the Provinces, and which have been taken over by the Dominion—the Provinces have made claims to the Dominion Government and the Dominion Government has repaid the subsidies paid by the Provinces to the railways. Now should not Ontario be treated in the same way? (Hear, hear.) You will be surprised when I show

you the amount of money this will involve. I will just read you an extract from a speech of mine on this question, made last Session.

EXTRACT FROM MR. WHITNEY'S SPEECH.

"It was true that the Government had dissipated the surplus. It was also true that it had sought to repair the damage by encroaching upon the revenues of the Municipalities. As a consequence of the policy with regard to the Municipalities a condition calling for consideration had arisen. The municipal taxes had greatly increased. In 1886 they amounted to \$9,000,000; in 1899 they were \$12,500,000. The rate of taxation had risen from \$4.95 per head to \$4.23, and the rate per mill on the dollar from 12.97 to 15.35. The municipal debts had also grown, they were \$29,900,000 in 1886, and \$54,500,000 in 1898. The people who formerly owed \$16.56 per head now owed \$27.11. The annual interest on loans had gone up from \$1,716,000 to \$2,600,000, although the population had increased by but 180,000. While this was going on the Dominion taxes were increasing. Ontario paid \$2,400,000 more last year than ten years ago, and on a rough estimate this province pays \$14,000,000 of Federal taxes, which, with the \$12,500,000 of municipal taxes, made \$24,500,000 altogether. A great portion of the Federal taxation was expended on Eastern railways. And while this province contributed to the construction and to the cost of operating these roads, it had paid in provincial and municipal bonuses no less than \$17,490,000 on its own. To-day the Federal Government was recognizing claims made by the Eastern provinces on account of their railway grants. It had allowed \$232,000 to New Brunswick, and more recently \$671,000 to Nova Scotia under this head. Further claims were pending, the Eastern provinces maintaining that they were entitled to a return of the bonuses they had paid, and one Prince Edward Island, going so far as to demand a large sum as compensation, because the Federal power had spent money on the Canadian Pacific and Inter-colonial. These movements all meant that Ontario was to pay more than ever, and it was time for this province to look after its own interests, and to claim from the Federal authorities, who boasted of a large surplus, drawn principally from us, whatever was justly due to us. Here was the way in which the Government could find relief from the embarrassment of which it complained, a relief which would enable it to attend to our own necessities and to relieve the Municipalities of the burden from time to time thrown upon them."

Now suppose the Government wished to aid the University of Toronto, or Queen's University, or build a railway in New Ontario, or do anything justifiable, provided they had the money. If the Dominion Government is going to pay to the Province of New Brunswick the subsidies they had paid to railways which the Dominion have taken over, why should it not pay to the Province of Ontario the money it has paid on such subsidies, and then there would be plenty of money for these purposes. (Applause.)

DRESSED BEEF.

With regard to the dressed beef industry you have heard a great deal about Dryden and dressed beef. Within a week after Mr. Ross made his proposition that he would endeavor to create a market for dressed beef in this country, a supporter of his, in the columns of the Globe showed that it was impossible to do so until they had improved the breed of cattle in the province. Now Mr. John Dryden, who until a short time ago was known as the only man in North America who knew anything worth knowing about farming, and who gets a salary of \$4,000 and Sessional allowance for attending to that sort of thing, instead of carrying out Mr. Ross' idea, was found to have bought a ranch in Dakota, and thus held up a sort of object lesson proving that the proposition and doctrine of his leader was nonsense, and that the place to get beef that

could be made into marketable dressed beef was the State of Dakota and not the Province of Ontario. (Applause.)

Then Mr. Pettypiece, a member of the Legislature, attacked Mr. Dryden, and a couple of weeks ago Mr. Pettypiece went before a Grit convention for nomination. Mr. Stratton was there, and heard Mr. Pettypiece attack Mr. Dryden again, and he heard people endorse Mr. Pettypiece's conduct and made no sign; he sat there while the conduct of his own colleague in the Government was denounced, and he had not a word to say. People say Mr. Dryden and Mr. Stratton are not on the best terms. I do not know whether that is so or not, but I would like to have Mr. Stratton explain just what are the private relations between himself and more than one of his colleagues, because I have my own opinion as to what they are. (Applause.)

THE NICKEL MINES.

Then with regard to the nickel mines. Mr. Ross was going to do something wonderful with nickel, and two editorials were published in the Globe, and an Order-in-Council passed by the Government to endeavor to get the British Government to encourage the exploitation of the nickel mines in order to use the metal in warships. But nothing was ever heard of that proposition from that day to the present.

COLD STORAGE.

On the question of cold storage, an Act was passed providing that aid could be given to cold storage buildings in different Municipalities. I have Mr. Ross' own authority for stating that there has been only one corporation that has taken advantage of it.

Then the proposed grants to highways—\$1,000,000 in ten years—has simply resulted in setting the county councils and township councils by the ears in different parts of the province, and that is all the practical effect it has had.

GRANTS TO VOLUNTEERS.

Some of you saw a statement in the Globe the other day that a Veteran of 1837 had applied for a grant of land as a volunteer. He could not get it, but the Globe said very nicely and kindly that they were going to take his case into consideration. Last winter when the Statute was passed giving grants of land to volunteers, a member of our side of the house, Mr. McLaughlin, of the County of Stormont, made a motion regretting that the militia men of 1837 were not given a grant of land for their services too, and the Government tried first to get the Speaker to declare it out of order, and when the Speaker refused to do that they voted it down. I have not looked at the journals to see whether Mr. Smith was attending to an action in another part of the country on that day or whether he was paired. (Laughter and applause.) But he did one thing or the other; he either voted against that motion or he was paired against it. Now then these land grants are absolutely worthless to the volunteers because if they want to sell the land the purchaser has to do the settlement duty. He need not buy it from the volunteer; he can get it from the Department for nothing if he is willing to do the settlement duty. The only volunteer who can get any advantage from the land grant is one who is willing to go up there to settle and do the settlement duty.

You have observed that our opponents claim that we are not capable of doing anything in a public way; that we are not capable of carrying on the Government. We have nothing to say about that; we do not make a boast of our capacity or of our public virtue at all; we leave the people to judge about that. A couple of years ago when they had called a Session of the Legislature in the month of August, the Government, which is the present Government practically, made a blunder in the adjournment of the House. They issued

writs which were utterly invalid, for certain by-elections. These writs were invalid because the Session was not closed and they had to prorogue the House, thus causing another new Session to be called, and the indemnity of two Sessions to be paid to the Members because they did not understand the simple Statute which provides for the election of members to the Legislative Assembly. My distinguished friend, whose services to the Conservative Party no man can appreciate better than I do, and whose services to the Conservative Party and to the country, are not yet known to the extent to which they exist, my friend Mr. Foy (loud applause) was the gentleman who discovered this error, and showed the Government the humiliating position in which they had placed themselves.

You are aware that in the month of June many clergymen move from one station to another. The result is that they are not able to vote either in the place from which they have come or the place to which they have gone. Lately a deputation of them asked the Government to remedy this state of affairs. Two members of the Government said they did not see how it could be done. I say it can be done and it shall be done, and when the time comes we will show them how to do it, so that the public indecency of a clergyman who is entitled to his vote being obliged to go away from the polling booth shall no longer be tolerated in the Province of Ontario. (Applause.)

WEAKNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Under our system of responsible government the doctrine holds that the Government shall assume responsibility for all legislation that passes the House. Does this Government do that? No, they are afraid to assume responsibility; they have not the courage of their convictions or rather of their desires. Perhaps it is a strong sense of their coming defeat which causes this timidity. As to that I do not know, but I do know that it is a very common thing during the Session for persons to come to me with the story that they want the Government to pass a certain Bill, they want a certain thing allowed, and the Government say, "Oh, we cannot say; try and find out what the Opposition will do," and their action is practically dependant upon us. This is a direct abandonment of the principle or law of responsible government. They are not supposed to consider what the Opposition will do; they are supposed to take the responsibility themselves.

Then it would seem with regard to Mr. Dryden and some others that there is quarrelling going on among them all the time. The edifice is steadily and rapidly going down. It is rotten at the bottom and rotten at the top. (Laughter.) From day to day there are tumults, there are mutinies; there are dissensions in the ranks of their supporters, so that when the Speaker takes the chair at three o'clock very often you can see in the countenances of the men opposite that they are barely able to maintain that friendly attitude which they are bound to maintain towards each other. They have said in the past that we have no policy; I think I have shown you fairly well that we have a policy, but if we have not just now that is of no consequence to them.

They adopted our policy on agriculture, with regard to the travelling dairy, minerals, sawlogs, the Bribery Bill, and they are waiting now to see what more they can pilfer from us (Applause), and the reason why they have been talking so much during the past few months with reference to our want of policy is because they wish us to make some new declaration in order that they may be able to take it up before the general election and deprive us of the advantage of it.

INSIST ON HONEST ELECTIONS

It may be that when the elections come on these gentlemen will perhaps hesitate to again steal and destroy the ballots of the electors, but, even if they

are afraid to do that, they will rally to their assistance as they have done in the past all the forces of evil in the Province of Ontario. The men who are ready on behalf of corporations to give them large sums of money to purchase votes, and who in return expect to get legislation such as I have shown you this afternoon, will be to the fore again as one of those forces to bring back again to power the discredited and disgraced men who to-day form the Government of Ontario. (Applause.) Although they may hesitate to steal or burn the ballots, any unfair advantage that can be taken, will be taken, and I have just one word of advice to give to the electors of this and of every constituency. When the time comes the first important thing to do will be to see to it that every scrutineer is a picked man in the polling sub-division. (Hear, hear.) A shrewd and plucky man who will stay by the ballot box to the end, who will do his duty, who won't put on his overcoat and run away from the polling booth as soon as five o'clock comes, but who will stay and watch every act of the deputy-returning officer, stranger or not though he may be, and see to it that when the ballot box is closed nothing shall have been done that he has not observed.

The next thing is this—I am speaking of the rural districts now, because as a rule it is in the rural districts that such things occur—let a committee of two or three stalwart young men who are not afraid of any of the ballot thieves or other forces of evil, be appointed in every polling sub-division. Let these young men not commit any breach of the peace, but the moment the scent of one of these scoundrels is found in any polling sub-division, let them induce him to leave that polling sub-division. Let there be no hesitation in bringing this about. (Applause.) I can assure you that we have with us the feeling of the people of this province. I would be foolish if I did not believe this, knowing what I know, and I say that there is no earthly power, if the writs were issued next week, to prevent the defeat of the Ross Government. (Applause.) Then let those who are anxious to maintain the credit of the province and who are determined to object to any further continuation of provincial shame and disgrace see to it that no effort be left undone, no step left untaken to bring about that very desirable result. So far the feeling of the people is unmistakable, and it is a matter of the most unalloyed satisfaction and happiness to me to see that wherever we go we are not only met with respectable audiences, but with large and sympathetic audiences like this; while on the other hand the members of the Government meet with audiences of from 70 to 100, or 150 people. It is not only a matter of great satisfaction to me, but it will be in the end when you shall have done your duty, a matter of great satisfaction to yourselves with whom the result will lie. I thank you heartily for the patient hearing you have given me in my long and tedious address. I have not been able to give it as I should because I have had to hurry too much, but you will I am sure take the will for the deed and perhaps in future, who knows, we may meet again and perhaps on that occasion if my friend Mr. Smith is asked he will come. (Laughter and applause.) I think it was Mr. Charters who said that Mr. Smith was invited here, but that he did not turn up. I can perhaps understand why; he knew that you were going to turn him down so what was the use of his turning up? (Laughter and applause.)

MR. ROSS AND IMPERIALISM.

Now ladies and gentlemen, if you will bear with me a few minutes longer (cries of "Go on"), I would like to say something to you as an elector of the Dominion of Canada. Heretofore I have been speaking to you as leader of the Opposition of Ontario, and with regard to provincial issues, but now I would like to say a few words to you in my capacity as an elector of the Dominion of Canada, and in relation to Dominion subjects. I wish to speak of the attitude of Mr. Ross with regard to Imperial Federation and preferential trade. I have

here several extracts from speeches of Mr. Ross. I have observed that he has been addressing public meetings in England, and writing to the newspapers with reference to preferential trade and Imperial Federation, and I have also observed that the London Times, among other papers, attacks the correctness of Mr. Ross' statistics and the conclusions he draws from them. I am afraid that it is not the first time that Mr. Ross' statistics have been wrong as well as his conclusions. The cablegram says:—

"A letter written by Hon. G. W. Ross, Premier of Ontario, and published in the Times of Monday, September 9th, has been criticized on the ground of inaccuracy and illogical arguments. Mr. Ross quoted incorrect immigration statistics. He said that 726,000 people emigrated from Britain between 1891 and 1900, of which number 90,000 went to Canada. As a matter of fact the number of emigrants who left Britain during this particular period was 2,641,834, of whom 328,411 went to the Dominion."

"The Times, commenting on the statistics given by Mr. Ross, says in to-day's issue that it is quite evident that emigration does not follow the flag, since it accepts a foreign or friendly flag without the slightest reluctance or regard to Imperial interests or associations."

Whatever may be the fact with regard to his "Statistics" he certainly varies and changes his "conclusions" from time to time as I shall try to show. In 1897 he advocated preferential trade. In a speech at Toronto he said:

"It may be said that under no circumstances can we look forward to such a change in the free trade policy of Great Britain as would warrant us in hoping that her laboring classes would submit to the taxation of their food in any sense or form for the benefit of the colonies. On that point I am not so sure. The reasons I have already stated would go a considerable distance to satisfy the laboring classes of Great Britain that a trifling increase, putting it at the very worst, of the cost of their food supplies had some compensating advantages."

He dismissed the "trifling increase" with a wave of the hand but we shall see how he regarded it later on for the purposes of the Laurier Campaign. Hear him further:

"In order to make my position clear it might be worth while to give in detail a few of the considerations which might very properly influence Great Britain to give the products of Canada and of her other colonies a preference over the products of foreign nations.

"1. The commercial advantages to the colonies under such a preference would greatly strengthen and increase their attachment to the Empire. Commercial interchange means much more than simply buying and selling; it carries with it social and business relations, and leads to a better knowledge of the political institutions of the countries concerned in such commerce. Nothing would conduce more to a permanent union of her colonies than a better understanding in Great Britain of Canadian sentiment and feeling, and no better way could be found of increasing that acquaintance than by increasing trade."

Very clearly put and very good doctrine too. But a little later when Sir W. Laurier—the destroyer for the time being of preferential trade—needed his services, the services of the more or less crippled "right arm" of the Ottawa Government—Mr. Ross was ready to "flop" and he did "flop." At Glenora, on 27th Sept., 1900, he quoted speeches of several British Statesmen in opposition to preferential trade, and commented as follows:—

"Who stands in our way? Is it not the leaders of both parties in Great Britain, and in face of their opposition, how can we prevail?"

And waxing warmer in his onslaught he declared:

"Britain imports annually about \$900,000,000 worth of food products, of which Canada supplies about \$70,000,000. Now what is the proposition? In

order to give a preference to the \$70,000,000 worth of food supplies which Britain consumes, she is asked to impose a duty upon the entire bulk of her food supply. Suppose we put that duty at 5 per cent.—and a lower figure than that would not be worth considering—five per cent. on \$300,000,000 would mean that the British workman and consumer would be taxed \$45,000,000 a year for his food supplies, in order that the \$70,000,000 coming from Canada would be enhanced in price. Is the British workman prepared for this? Do not let us be deceived by the glamour of the proposal. To us it is certainly inviting: but to the heavily-burdened British taxpayer it would be considered an enormous price to pay."

The "trifling increase" had grown to \$45,000,000, against which the British workman would surely rebel and which caused this formal recantation.

In a speech at Manchester, on 30th July last (the published report of which is not very clear), Mr. Ross merely squints at Imperial Federation, and, mindful no doubt of his Glencoe utterances, avoids the subject of Preferential trade, altogether—just as he carefully refrained from alluding on the platform to the remarkable Bill he introduced for the purpose of taking away from the people of Ontario for three years at a time the power to impose taxation on the property of Corporations.

PREFERENTIAL TRADE.

Now then gentlemen, in my opinion, a properly thought out scheme of Preferential trade, framed with reference to the situation, the requirements and the resources of "all the British possessions beyond the seas," would inevitably bring great results to the Empire as a whole, and to the Colonies individually. And let me suggest to Mr. Ross that the adoption of such a scheme would be the ideal plan to attract emigrants, both from the old land and from Europe. As soon as the prospective emigrant realized that, by virtue of the relations between the Colonies and the Empire, Canadian products would command the first place and a higher price in the British market than the products of other countries, would not the problem of emigration to Canada be solved?

And it simply rests with the Colonies to bring about this desirable state of affairs. Listen to Mr. Chamberlain as quoted by Mr. Ross himself—before he "fopped":

"I want to impress upon you my personal conviction that if a proposal of this kind came to us from the Colonies, backed by any considerable support on their part, it would not be met by a blank refusal by the people of this country."

Well now let us see Mr. Ross' latest proposition. Here it is:

"I say to you here in Manchester that we are willing—I think we are willing—in Canada to impose a duty of 5 per cent. on all importations from any foreign country, excepting the Colonies of the Empire, the money to be applied as a war tax or as a defence fund for the defence of the Empire. Will you reciprocate that? Will you impose a 5 per cent. tax on all imports from foreign countries, excluding the Colonies, as a defence fund for the defence of the Empire? Surely that is a practical basis. (No, No.) You say no. Work it out and see. That is the thought I give you to-day. I am not the originator of it and I have only one object in putting it forward. I say, if the commerce of the Empire is to be defended there must be a tax such as I have described, and that's the logic of it all. But if you think that that is not the solution let us try and find some other solution."

You will observe that, as soon as one hard-headed Englishman cried out "No, no," he dropped the proposal like a very hot potato indeed, disclaiming the paternity of the idea and brought his speech to a close. And no wonder, His suggestion was put in such a form that no Englishman of the present day could accept it. The value of foreign goods imported by Great Britain in the

year 1900 was \$3,012,523,369, and Mr. Ross asks free trade England to impose a duty of 5 per cent. on these imports—such duty amounting to over \$100,000,000—asks her to do that which all her great men believed would simply ruin her as a nation and a people, in order to induce the Colonies to contribute a like duty which would amount to about \$7,000,000! According to his Glencoe deliverance the British workman would not submit to a five per cent. duty on merely food products from foreign countries, amounting to \$45,000,000, and therefore is it likely he would submit to a similar duty on all foreign imports amounting to over \$100,000,000? Mr. Ross' earnestness in this matter may well be doubted. I am afraid the garments in which he is masquerading are borrowed and therefore not a good fit. His proposition is not in line with the true idea of Imperial Federation, nor is it—and probably it was not intended to be—a proper basis on which to build up a system of Preferential trade.

We Canadians require no bribe to induce us to take up willingly our share of the burdens of the Empire, nor will we haggle about terms at all. There can be no mistake as to the spirit which actuates our people. The response of His Majesty's Canadian subjects with reference to their manifest duty in this respect will be warm and ready and the spirit in which they will stand by the grand old Mother of Nations across the sea will be the spirit in which Ruth shewed her devotion to Naomi in the beautiful Bible story.

"Ask me not to leave thee nor forsake thee for where thou goest I will go and where thou lodgest I will lodge, thy people shall be my people and thy God my God. And where thou diest will I die, and there will I be buried—The Lord do so to me and more also if aught but death part thee and me."

This is the spirit always fostered and encouraged by the Great British-American Imperialist, Sir John Macdonald, whose last war cry to the people was the Imperial slogan, "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die," and whose fervent hope and aspiration was that, in the near future the Dominion of Canada will take her place as one of those outlying and auxiliary kingdoms which will as time goes on, become the buttresses and bulwarks of the British Empire all round the world. And the people of Canada to-day are to a man imbued with the same hope and the same aspiration. Great changes come quickly in these latter days. Already Sir John's aspiration has been practically accomplished and nothing remains to be done but to watch the development of the Imperial spirit as it goes on from day to day with accelerated pace, and sooner even perhaps than we expect will come a practical solution of the question and the crystallization of sentiment into permanent legislation by the Imperial and Colonial Parliaments.

Now ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion I desire to ask you in your own interests and in the interests of this province of ours, the reputation and credit and fair name of which is I have no doubt dear to us all as a Christian people, and as a civilized people, appreciating the privileges and liberties which are ours, I appeal to you whether it will not be your bounden duty, not merely your privilege, because the franchise is the privilege of every man, I ask you to consider whether it will not be our duty to give your votes to our friend Mr. Charters, who as you all know, better than any outsider knows is a distinct credit not only to himself but to the locality which produced him? (Applause.) Surely it will be your duty to do that and having regard to the great and momentous questions which are now before the public mind, I have every possible confidence that when the time comes you will do so, and this grand old County of Peel which was represented once by a man like John Hillyard Cameron, will have as its representatives in the two Houses of Parliament, of Canada and Ontario, men like Richard Blain and Samuel Charters, men of whom a greater County, if such were possible, need not be ashamed. (Cheers.)

BILL No. 173.

The following is a copy of the famous—or rather infamous—Bill introduced by Mr. Ross, giving Municipal Councils the power to exempt certain Corporations from taxation for three years at a time without the consent of the rate-payers.

No. 173)

BILL.

(1891.

An Act to amend The Municipal Act.

His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, enacts as follows :—

1. Section 581 of The Municipal Act as amended by The Municipal Amendment Act, 1900, is hereby amended by adding thereto the following :—

“By the councils of cities, towns and incorporated villages.

12. For the remission of taxes in whole or in part payable for any current year, or for exemption in whole or in part from taxation for one or more future years, or for fixing the amount of assessment to be made for one or more future years, in the case of any person exercising or about to exercise within the municipality, any public franchise for the supply of water, light, heat, transportation or other public service to the municipality or to the inhabitants thereof.

- (a) Any such by-law may be passed before or after the operation of any such public franchise has been commenced.
- (b) Such by-law may be made subject to such terms and conditions as to the council seem fit.
- (c) No such by-law shall continue in force for more than 3 years without re-enactment.
- (d) The remission and exemption hereby authorized shall not apply to school or local improvement rates.
- (e) No such by-law shall require the assent of the rate-payers of the municipality.”

Mr. Foy's Speech at Charleston

Mr. Foy, who was enthusiastically received, said:—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—Before proceeding to discuss the political subjects which engage our attention to-day, perhaps it would not be out of place if I were to make an allusion to a subject that is filling the public mind throughout the world. At this very hour in Canton, Ohio, the mortal remains of the late President McKinley are being entombed. The Governor-General of this Dominion has proclaimed to-day a day of mourning, and I am sure that we can confidently say that Canada joins and shares in the grief and in the mourning that enshrouds our sister nation of the United States. Canada also sends forth its sympathy to our American cousins in this their day of woe, and joins with them in condemnation and in expressing our abhorrence of the terrible crime that removed from them their Chief Magistrate.

I have great pleasure, in coming here to-day to attend a meeting that is intended to further the interests of Mr. Charters as a candidate for the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. You have heard Mr. Charters to-day. You have no doubt heard him on other occasions, and he has promised to meet you frequently during the campaign that is now near at hand. I am sure that you will find in him, when you elect him, a representative worthy of this great historic County of Peel. His speech shows the kind and quality of man he is; he has shown that he is a man of thought, that he gives reasons for his opinions. He has asked his opponent Mr. Smith to meet him here to-day, and he regrets that his opponent did not accept the invitation. We all regret it. In discussing the public questions from our side we wish to discuss them fairly and intelligently. We wish that both sides should be heard. We wish our opponents to hear what we say, because we do not want to say anything behind their back that we are not willing to say to their face; and on the other hand in meeting the party that has been a power so long, we want them to come on the platform before us, and give their reasons why they should be continued in power. (Applause.) If we hear these reasons we are prepared and willing and anxious to meet them, and we undertake to thoroughly and fully refute anything that they dare set forth before you as reasons why the present Government should receive a continued support from the people of this province. Mr. Smith is not here to-day, and I regret it, because I would like to hear what reasons a candidate for the Ross Party can give to the people of the County of Peel, why this county should send a representative who will endorse the Ross Government.

A MECHANICAL MAJORITY.

Now, as has been mentioned by Mr. Charters, Mr. Smith in the House does not stand up and represent you. He makes no motions, he gives no addresses, he gives no reasons for his votes, but he simply stands up and votes at the beck and call of the Ministers of the Crown. (Hear, hear.) He gives no reasons for his action; he does not assert any cause or reason for his vote, but he gets up mechanically and joins the mechanical majority that has been supporting for so long the present Government. Mr. Ross in one of his speeches in the Legislature asserted that we could not down him in that House as long

as he had at his back those Spartans behind him. Now you know very well in reading history that the Spartans were famous as soldiers; they were men who obeyed the word of command; they were told to march forward, and they went forward; they were told to turn right-about, and they turned right-about; they did not reason why, they simply obeyed the word of command of their superior officer; and so Mr. Ross was correct in calling his followers Spartans. The Spartans were not men distinguished as governing people, as people skilled in legislation, as people great on constitutions, but simply as obedient soldiers; and so Mr. Ross was very correct in calling the men Spartans who stood up without giving any reasons for their votes, and always obeyed him; he was quite right in calling them Spartans. I will give you a sample illustration to show you how they did it. Mr. Ross introduced in the last Session a Bill respecting the assessment. It embodied a principle that the municipal committee in the previous session had unanimously adopted, and recommended. They placed themselves on record in the Municipal Committee in favor of a certain principle. Then Mr. Ross would not introduce a Bill to carry that out, or allow to pass a bill a Conservative member had introduced, but he appointed a commission on municipal assessment and so threw the question over for another session. That commission reported in favor of that principle I have referred to, and Mr. Ross himself introduced in 1901, a Bill which purported to embody that principle and to carry it into law. Mr. Smith and the other Spartans behind him when told to stand up and vote for it on the first and second reading, they did so; but afterwards Mr. Ross changed his mind, and he withdrew the Bill, and a Member of the other side of the House introduced afterwards an amendment to the same effect as that which Mr. Ross had proposed, and what did these Spartans do? At the word of command of their leader these men who had voted aye to that question upon the dictation of their commander-in-chief, turned right-about and at the word of command of the same man they voted "nay" to the very same proposition. (Laughter and applause.)

THE MACHINE.

Now, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I have said that it is a pleasure to be here to-day, but it is more than a pleasure, it is a duty to be here to-day, because the campaign that we are about entering upon is no ordinary campaign. Usually elections involve many principles upon which parties differ, but we are at a particularly critical juncture at the present time when it is the duty of everybody to come forward and take sides in this election, and to do the best he can to oust the present Government; so that I came here to-day not merely as a pleasure, but also to fulfil a duty, in responding to the call to say a word in the present important contest that is about to come upon us. This contest as I say is not an ordinary one; it is a special one; there are special principles involved in it; the character, the reputation of the whole province is at stake. It is not a question of the "ins vs. the outs," or merely whether one particular set of principles shall prevail as against another, but the all important question in this country to-day in the coming election is whether this country is to be ruled by men who act at the dictation of men whom we may call the machine-men. (Hear, hear.) You have to decide whether this country is going to back up and endorse by its votes in the coming election the iniquities and the nefarious practices that characterized the last election in many of the counties on the part of the Reformers, and whether this country is going to say that these iniquities are to be condoned, that these machine-men are going to be still allowed to do their wicked work, and whether a Government which holds power to-day not by the true voice and vote of the people but by the manipulators of the ballot boxes, are still to rule. (Hear, hear.) I do not therefore exaggerate when I say that this is more than an ordinary contest, and

that the reputation and character of our country is involved in it, and is on trial. If we elect the same men who to-day hold power attained by the switching of ballots, by the miscounting of votes, by false returns, what will be the effect upon the people of the country? The public will say, and other countries will say, that Ontario is indifferent as to whether we have representative institutions or not, whether the voice of the people expressed at the poll shall prevail or not; they will say that we are not worthy of representative institutions. I say that to-day representative Government, Government by the voice of the people is at stake, and it rests with all of us, Reformers and Conservatives and men who do not belong to either party, to join in this struggle together and by an overwhelming majority at the polls in this province show to the world that we at all events are down on one thing, and can combine in downing one thing, and that is any fraudulent manipulation of the ballots or any misrepresentation of the voice of the people. (Loud applause.) We have always boasted that this province was in the van, that Ontario was the banner Province, that we were the people who best understood representation by the people and responsible government, for which our fathers pressed and fought. Is it now to be said that instead of being as we claim in the van, we are to be in the rear of all the Provinces of the Dominion? I trust that the proper feeling will go forth through this country from one end to the other and be so strong that no attempts will ever hereafter be made to strangle, to choke the voice of the people of this country, and to put into power the men who have not at their back the real majority of the country. (Applause.)

THE MACHINE AND THE GOVERNMENT.

However, Mr. Chairman, the Conservative Party does not in this election rely solely upon what we call the wickedness of—I won't say of the other party—but of the dominating people in the other party. I claim, sir, that there are thousands and thousands of honest Liberals who deprecate what has been done just as much as the Conservatives do. These acts have been the acts of active supporters of the party in various constituencies. They have been the acts of office holders and office seekers, of men in Government pay, and men who have been seeking to get at the purse strings of this country, and I charge that Government, even if not personally implicated, are really responsible because they have virtually condoned what these men have done. They have taken the fruits of the work of these men; they are enjoying the fruits of office, the results of the action of these men, and have done nothing to bring them to justice. We charge that the Government is giving grants to their favorites, and that they are legislating in the interest of corporations and others who make a return to them by assisting them at election time. The feeling of the country must be against that sort of thing, and we have to bring it before the people. I say there are thousands of Liberals who feel that way, but we must ask them to go farther than feel that way, we must ask them to give expression to their feelings at the polls in the coming election. (Hear, hear.) Then there is another class of men who force the Government to do things that probably they do not feel inclined to do. I have told you of their giving grants and favors to political favorites, but there are other men who are even more dangerous than favorites. They are men who probably are not favorites with them, but who hold the political pistol to their heads and demand certain things, and in default of getting their demand threaten that they will go against the Government. The Government is weak and yields, and that is even a greater danger than merely having a friendly feeling towards some of their friends, and giving them political favors of one kind and another. That is something that I ask honest Liberals to condemn, and to go further than merely condemn with their mouths, condemn with their deeds by their votes at the ballot. (Applause.)

Now, Mr. Chairman, going into politics, or representing constituencies or possibly forming a Government is not or ought not to be for the benefit of individuals. It is not for the glory of the individual himself, no matter how high a position he may take in the Government. It is not for the personal advancement of anybody. It is to administer the affairs of the country well; it is to administer them economically; to find out what wrongs exist and to pass legislation to remedy those wrongs. Another duty of a government is to be perfectly frank and fair, and above board in their statement to the public as to the financial condition of the country. They should take the public into the confidence of the Government; let it know exactly where the country stands, as to its assets and liabilities, as to its receipts and disbursements, and give them a frank, full, clear, intelligible and unambiguous statement of the financial condition of the country. Mr. Chairman, I charge the present Government with violating all these which I say are the primary and proper functions of an administrative body, and of a governing body. I say they do not look to see whether a particular measure will benefit the public, but they are surrounded by friends who consult them and whom they consult, and whose interests they consult. They do not administer the affairs of this country economically, as has been proven over and over again, and which I have no doubt Mr. Charters will be able to show you in detail. He has given you samples of it here to-day. They do not administer the affairs economically; they do not pass legislation, simply because they think it may cure a wrong, to remedy some evil, to put something right.

THE ASSESSMENT LAW.

I illustrated that a little while ago by their action upon the Assessment Act. The particular section I refer to was in reference to the assessment of certain corporate bodies that have franchises, such as gas companies, street railways, telephone and other companies. We in Toronto perhaps are more immediately interested in that than you in the country, but still I do not think you confine your sympathies and your interest simply to legislation that affects only yourselves. I think you would like to see right done for right's sake, no matter whom it affects or whether it directly affects you or not. So I will speak a little in explanation of that particular point. As I said in my opening remarks, the subject came before the Municipal Committee two Sessions ago, when there was no party feeling aroused. In committee you know members try to lay aside for the moment anything like a partisan feeling, and if they have no political object in view, even the Government members are inclined to take a higher view of the questions before the Committee. Now when that question of the assessment came before the Committee and there were no partisan speeches on the Government side to rouse the committee, there was an unanimous expression of opinion that a change should be made in the laws as to the assessment of these companies that have poles and wires or street rails, gas pipes, and other things running through cities and towns and other municipalities. They were practically unanimous on that, and legislation should then have been introduced to carry that out as we have always claimed. There was an expression of opinion by a very large committee, with a very large attendance on that particular day. The members of the Legislature if they are well up on any one thing more than another, are particularly well up in municipal matters. They have graduated from municipal institutions. Many of them have been reeves, mayors, councillors and aldermen, and they are very familiar with the Assessment Act; they know its workings, they can point out its defects; they are thoroughly conversant with it, and as I say when no one thought there was anything political in the matter they were unanimous in saying that this important amendment to the Assessment Law ought to be passed. But the Government said: we will not do anything this Session, we are going to appoint a commission, the com-

commissioners will take offence, they will be able men, careful men, they will listen to the arguments on all sides; every corporation will have an opportunity to be present either through their managers or their lawyers to present their side of the case. This was done, and the commissioners were unanimous that this principle that I just referred to should be at once embodied in legislation and the Government introduced a Bill to that effect; but as I tell you some persons must have come to the Government and got their ear, and got the Government to turn around and change their opinion and to withdraw that Bill. Who would have gone to the Government to change their opinion? None of the legislators, because, as I say, they had unanimously in the Municipal Committee adopted the principle involved. None of the Government supporters, because as I told you the Bill passed a first and second reading, and was sent on to committee. The Government themselves had voted for the second reading of the Bill. Who would have gone to the Government and told them that this had better not be passed into law? Would it be the farmers? Would it be the merchants? Would it be anybody except the people who under that amended law would have to pay more taxes, their fair share of taxes to the municipalities? (Hear, hear.) We do not know. We did not see the telephone companies, and the street railway companies, and the others who go to the Government. But they suddenly changed their mind, without giving any reasons or justification, and they withdrew the Bill. Then the people of this country will draw the inference that these powerful corporations had the ear of the Government, and dictated to the Government, and made them withdraw their own Bill, and made them contradict themselves, and made them get their Spartans behind them contradict themselves, will anybody blame the public for drawing such an inference? (Applause.)

THE FINANCIAL QUESTION.

Then I have told you that one of the duties of a Government is to give a plain and simple and explicit statement of the financial condition of the country. Has this Government done that? Is it not known to every person, Conservative and Reformer, that they have done the very opposite of that? Have we not read it in their campaign literature in previous elections that their surplus was five millions of dollars? Did we not hear Mr. Ross in his Whitby speech say it was two millions of dollars? This is the statement of the Minister of Finance to the House, and it shows us that the alleged surplus is made up of funds that have no right to be considered the assets of this province. Five million dollars of surplus that they alleged and went to the country claiming to possess, disappears on their own acknowledgment to a great extent, and is reduced to two millions, and when the public accounts are seen and the surplus is analyzed and considered, it disappears altogether. They do not produce to the country a straightforward, plain, business-like statement of the finances of this province, but they attempt to mislead us, to mislead the voters, and they seek a return to power by claiming that they had gathered together such enormous funds, that they were economical, that they had savings, and that they had this enormous surplus. That fairy tale has disappeared long ago. The public cannot be hoodwinked by that any more, and I say that the two millions that they claimed as a surplus is a myth; that has been shown over and over again, and I think I can recall it to your memories without going very much into detail about it, or worrying you with figures. I think I can explain that part of it very briefly by just recalling to you, with the knowledge you already possess, a few facts. The assets that the Government put down as belonging to this province consist in great part of what are merely trust funds. The Dominion of Canada holds in trust for the Province of Ontario certain funds; Common School Fund, Upper Canada Grammar School Fund, Upper Canada Building Fund, and others that are purely trust funds. The Government do

not own them; they do not possess them; they are there simply in their hands as trustees for schools and special purposes; they cannot use it; they could not pay their own salaries with it; they could not pay any of their employees with it, or their railway obligations or other debts with it; it is not theirs. Let me illustrate it in this way; suppose I am worth \$100, and on leaving Toronto this morning I put that \$100 in my pocket, but as I was coming away, somebody meets me and says: "You are going up to the County of Peel; here are \$10,000 which belong to the County of Peel, and I wish you would give it to them." I come up here with \$10,100 in my pocket, and I go around among you people, and I produce this and I say, "I am worth \$10,100." Would I not be considered a fraud? Would it not be a misrepresentation? (Applause.) I have the \$10,000 of the Toronto man's money in my pocket, as well as my own \$100, but I have it for a special purpose; it is my duty to hand it over to the person I was told to give it to. It is not my money at all. I have it however in my pocket; if I was a fraud and a deceiver I could parade around and say that is my money, and probably the people could not contradict me; but it is not mine, I can't spend it or pay my debts with it; I hold it for a special purpose. And so it is trust funds that the Government put in as assets of their own, as moneys of their own to apparently swell their exchequer; it does not belong to them any more than it belongs to me; it is in their hands for a specific purpose. Even the Financial Committee in reporting upon that, omitted some very important words in referring to one of the trust funds. It was pointed out in the House that they had omitted in their report to mention that these moneys were in and by the Award of the Government arbitrators stated to be moneys held by the Province of Ontario "for the purpose for which they were intended." You look back at the Act of Parliament, and you see the purpose for which they are intended; they are trust moneys, moneys for specific purposes; moneys that the Ontario Government could not use for their own service without fraud and breach of trust. Therefore they should not appear as provincial assets at all. They should be on a separate sheet, or in a separate account. I do not say that reference in their statements should not be made to these funds, but they should appear in the statements to be what they really are. And yet the Government goes around the country proclaiming that they possess that as a surplus and claim credit for the possession of it. (Applause.)

Another instance of their want of candour in giving the financial statements is this: they mix up what they receive from revenue with what they receive from capital, and they add them together and put the result before the public as the receipts for the year, and unless you closely analyze it and go carefully into the matter you cannot tell one from the other. They say they have received during the year so many dollars, and that they have expended during that year so many dollars; the difference they say is their saving; "Great is Ross and his Government that they have made these immense savings." But look into some of the items, one was mentioned to-day by Mr. Charters. They have timber sales from time to time. They had one the day before yesterday, and \$732,000 were the proceeds of that. That will appear in their statement of receipts for 1901, just the same way, mixed up with their revenue. It will all appear together. "We are a great Government; we have collected so many millions of dollars." But you will find among the collection this \$732,000. They mix the capital and the revenue. They should, of course, state that they received it, but they ought to distinguish between the two; they ought to give the people of this country a statement of what they have received on capital and where it came from. If it came from a timber sale we are not richer \$732,000 by that timber sale, we are out the timber limits; there were ours, there are not ours to-day. The \$732,000 belongs to us, but we are no richer for the sale; it should not be added

to the receipts and mixed up with income, but should be put in a separate account so that the people could see the thing plainly. But what would be the result of this method which I suggest? The result would be that the public would see at a glance that the income receipts, the revenue receipts were so much, and the disbursements chargeable to revenue were so many dollars also, and the public would then see that every year instead of the boasted surplus, there was really a deficit and that we are living on our capital. So, I say, they do not do their duty to the public in this regard; they are not candid and above-board in mixing up their accounts in that way, and I think, with this explanation, that everybody will agree with me. If my statement is not right, I am sorry Mr. Smith is not here to correct me and give the true explanation. (Applause.)

THE ELECTION FRAUDS.

Now a few words as to the West Elgin fraud and the North Waterloo fraud. We think that the Government has not done its duty in prosecuting the people whom the judges said were guilty of various crimes in connection with those elections. But the Government say, we are tired of that, we have heard that before, give us a rest, we don't want any more of it. Well, ladies and gentlemen, we will have in the interest of the public to tire them still more; we will have to repeat it again and again until the Government not merely say they are sorry these things happened, but they will have to show true contrition and do penance for their sins. (Applause.) It is not sufficient for them to say we will be honest about these things in future, we are sorry for it. They promise now to be honest, because even their own supporters will demand it from them. There are different kinds of honesty. Some people rest their claim to honesty on very weak foundation. I heard the other day of a man who stole a dog, and he said, "I have come to the conclusion that honesty is the best policy." "How is that?" said his pal, quite astonished at the man taking this view of it. "Well," he says, "you know that dog I stole the other day, I went to several people and tried to sell it, and I could not, and I returned it to the old lady I stole it from, and she gave me \$5. Honesty is the best policy." (Laughter.)

Now we do not put much confidence in people who when they have been found out say they won't do it again if we let them off. "Do not tire us about this, do not repeat this, do not always bring up West Elgin and North Waterloo; do not mention Pritchett and Cahill, and Bole, and all the illustrious lights who aided the Government in procuring the small majority they possess; do not let us hear any more of them; we are down on corruption, we are down on these wrongs." We do not believe much in these protestations after they have been found out, any more than we believe in the honesty of the man who took \$5 from the woman from whom he stole the dog.

Now, just to follow up what I was saying; not having much faith in these promises of repentance of the Government, and that they won't do it again, it is my contention that they ought first, in order to purge themselves, prosecute and follow up these men. After a couple of years of dinning it into their ears that this ought to be done, the Government promised to prosecute some of them and after that promise was made some Conservatives were wicked enough to say, "I will bet anything these men will never be found guilty." Now, that was awful for these Conservatives to say that. The Attorney-General was going to prosecute these men; he was going to put the full power of the law into force against them, and yet the Conservatives were wicked enough to prophesy that none of these men would be convicted. Some of them apparently have been tried, but none of them have been convicted. Mr. Wildfong, an active Government supporter, was accused of having in the exercise of his office of Deputy Returning Officer improperly handled

the ballots. The judges so found; I have their report here, which I need not read to you, the matter is just as familiar to you as it is to me. The judges found that Wildfong and Cummings, another Government buttress, had manipulated ballots, had made false returns, had fraudulently defaced and injured 16, and that Cummings had fraudulently miscounted 21 ballots which had been cast for the Conservative candidate. The judges so found at the trial, and the Government were urged to prosecute these men. After a great deal of delay they did so, but before doing so the matter came up in the House, when they were again urged, and I have a copy of the speech of the Attorney-General on the question here before me, one published by themselves, and sent out to the country. Now I do not understand the moral obtuseness of anyone who would think that the Government's excuse was anything like a defence for these men, anything like a reason why the Government should not prosecute them. I will just read to you a little of the Attorney-General's speech in a pamphlet printed by the Reform party, circulated by them as their justification and excuse. "Wildfong's case, Mr. Gibson continued, is different; the defacing of ballots is expressly made an offence, but no direct evidence was given to incriminate Wildfong." Now, mark you this is from the Attorney-General who is asked to prosecute Wildfong. The judges say he manipulated those ballots, that he had tampered with them, that in the discharge of what should be a sacred duty, the taking care of the ballots of the people of this country, he had violated this trust, and returned the wrong man instead of the right man, and the Attorney-General, asked to prosecute this man, says on the floor of the House, and has it printed and published and circulated through this country in reference to this accused man, that no direct evidence has been given to implicate him. The judges who had tried the petition, were not trying the accused at the time, but found that there was evidence that these things had occurred and the election was upset in consequence of that, and the Court of Appeal confirmed the judgment of the two judges who tried it. And yet the Attorney-General says no direct evidence appears to have been given to incriminate Wildfong. "A process of exclusion of others who denied having any knowledge of alteration or defacing of the ballots seems to have led to the conclusion that Wildfong as a deputy-returning officer, must have committed the offence. My view is that further proceedings should be instituted." And yet he publicly announces before the prosecution was commenced, that there was no direct evidence to incriminate Wildfong. And what do you think happened? Can the people of the country believe it? That in that prosecution of a man charged with having manipulated ballots and switched them, that the ballots were not produced in Court, and the case was dismissed without the production of the ballots. Can one conceive of a prosecution by the law leaving out the very important evidence, the only evidence that could have been given, the production of the ballots themselves, and summoning the men who had marked these ballots to state how they had marked them, and showing that nobody else could have touched them but this deputy-returning officer. That is justice! If we heard that said of any other country we would say what an awful state of affairs must exist in that country; and yet men will be found so tied to their party that they will support the Government that has been guilty of this, that has so prostituted the law by asserting that they were prosecuting the man and yet not having the production at the trial of the very ballots that he was charged with having manipulated. So that the wicked Tories who prophesied that Wildfong would not be convicted were right after all.

A voice—What did they do with the ballots?

Mr. Foy—Well, the Government prosecutor did not produce them at the trial, that was the trouble.

A voice—They burned them. (Laughter and applause.)

THE WEST ELGIN CASE.

Mr. Foy.—There was another set of ballots that my friend there alludes to that were wanted at another trial and the case was called: the ballots were not produced, but Mr. MacNish gave a confession, and he was unseated. He gave a confession seriously implicating his own party. I happen to have it with me, and it is such interesting reading, that I might be pardoned if I were to give it to you once more. This is a statement signed by Mr. MacNish, witnessed by his counsel and signed by his counsel in which he says: "We beg to advise you that Mr. MacNish has discussed at length with his solicitors"—it was not an off-hand confession, it was deliberate, he had gone all over it with his solicitors first—"contained in the petition which has been filed against his return as a member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario for West Elgin, and that they have to a considerable extent investigated the charges contained therein, and other matters which have come to their knowledge in connection with the election; and the subscribers hereto make the following statements and admissions respecting the same. First, that a large number of persons were specially sent into the constituency by men working on behalf of the Liberal party!" Sent in from outside places; it was not merely a local fight in which some of the too enthusiastic might in their excitement have overstepped the law, but these were men sent into the constituency by men working on behalf of the Liberal party for the express purpose of taking part for Mr. MacNish in the election. "And we believe that fraudulent and corrupt means were used by several of such persons to secure his election; that several of the said persons illegally and without authority acted as deputy-returning officers." Just think of that; that they had actually dared to take a semi-judicial office, a man sworn to do his duty, to hold the scale of justice even between the two parties, men whom you trust, when you go in there you see a returning officer, and you assume he has been appointed properly, and you give your ballots without fear, and then you find that this man has been fraudulently appointed and that he is there for the express and deliberate purpose of cheating you out of your votes, cheating the constituency out of its member, and returning to power by deceit and trickery a Government that does not deserve to be there. (Applause.) Then the MacNish confession proceeds with several other things that I need not trouble you with, except this: "Sixth, that a large number of votes cast for Mr. McDiarmid were in some corrupt manner manipulated, whereby the result of the election was rendered doubtful, and that in this connection the voting at Ashdown and Middlemarch, and several divisions in St. Thomas where strangers were acting as deputy-returning officers merit special mention."

Mr. Ross in his speech at Whitby alluded to West Elgin. He said: "There will be an election at West Elgin; we have a majority there; that is easy." Well, Mr. Ross miscalculated. All the Liberals of the riding of West Elgin were not Spartans who obeyed his word of command. There were independent Liberals in that constituency who saw the wrong and iniquity and did right, and by a fair majority sent Mr. MacNish back to retirement and elected Mr. McDiarmid in his place. (Applause.) Mr. Ross said "we have a majority in that riding, we will carry it, that is easy;" but he counted without his host; he counted not that amongst the Liberals of that riding were many honest and fair-minded men who would not swallow things of that kind, and I trust that in the coming election Mr. Ross will be shown that the honest Liberals of the different ridings throughout this country will not be at his back and will stand by the country and not by their party. (Applause.)

THE CONSERVATIVE LEADER.

Now I find that the time allotted to me is up, and I will have but very few more words to say to you. We will have the pleasure of presently hearing our distinguished leader, Mr. Whitney. (Applause.) He is a man of whom we are

all proud, of whom the party is proud, and the more the country knows him the more the country will be proud of him. He has been in Parliament for some years, giving his time and attention to the performance of the onerous duties that belong to a leader, and the rank and file, I may say, do not fully appreciate how onerous those duties are, how much time a leader has to give both in the session and out of it to fulfil the responsible position to which his party has appointed him. Since I have been in public life I have had a glimpse of what his duties are, of the time and the attention and devotion he gives, and though in his presence I say it, the country ought to be proud that it can produce men who will give unselfishly so much of their time and the sacrifice of their personal interests in looking after the interests of this country. And in return for that man like Mr. Whitney ought to command the intelligent approval and the endorsement of the people throughout the whole province. (Applause.) He performs his duty to us; let us perform our duty to him.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I will just conclude by saying that if the Ross Government is sustained in this coming campaign, the wicked men in the country will be seeking places in Parliament and as rulers of the land. They will say that the people of Ontario do not care what are the methods of getting into Parliament provided you get there, the people of Ontario do not shrink at ballot switching, and ballot stuffing, and false returns by deputy-returning officers and men mounting to power by these nefarious methods; and the Tweeds and Crokers and all that gang will say that in future they will present themselves for the suffrages of a country that is willing to swallow things like these. On the other hand the good men who would only take their seats if honestly elected, and who will not descend to these low methods, will say, what is the good of our going into the contest and seeking to represent constituencies when we will have to sit side by side with men that are elected in that other way? And what is the use of our contesting constituencies by honest and proper methods, and these are the only methods we will adopt, if we are to fight men who will receive the approval of this province for having adopted the other methods? So that you see that I did not exaggerate, that I was perfectly correct in saying that the present contest that is coming to us is one of exceptional character, one of the most critical, one in which the character and reputation of this province are at stake. But we go into the campaign, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, with the fullest confidence that the people of this country have not descended so low as not to frown down and condemn such methods, as the courts have condemned, and show to the world that they, at all events, do not approve of them. (Loud applause.)

